

1235

No. 3384

United States
1235
Circuit Court of Appeals

For the Ninth Circuit. /

NEIL GUINEY,

Appellant.

vs.

R. P. BONHAM, as United States Inspector in
Charge of Immigration for the District of
Oregon,

Appellee.

Transcript of Record.

Upon Appeal from the United States District Court for
the District of Oregon.

FILED

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F. D. MONTGOMERY

CLERK

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[Clerk's Note: When deemed likely to be of an important nature, errors or doubtful matters appearing in the original certified record are printed literally in italic; and, likewise, cancelled matter appearing in the original certified record is printed and cancelled herein accordingly. When possible, an omission from the text is indicated by printing in italic the two words between which the omission seems to occur.]

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Names and Addresses of Attorneys of Record.

GEORGE F. VANDERVEER and RALPH S. PIERCE, 607 Central Building, Seattle, Washington,

For the Appellant.

BERT E. HANEY, United States Attorney, and BARNETT H. GOLDSTEIN, Assistant United States Attorney, Old Postoffice Building, Portland, Oregon,

For the Appellee.

Citation on Appeal.

United States of America,

District of Oregon,—ss.

To R. P. Bonham, Respondent, GREETING:

WHEREAS, Neil Guiney, complainant, has lately appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit from a decree rendered in the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon, in your favor, and has given the security required by law;

You are, therefore, hereby cited and admonished to be and appear before said United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, at San Francisco, California, within thirty days from the date hereof, to show cause, if any there be, why the said decree should not be corrected, and speedy justice should not be done to the parties in that behalf.

GIVEN under my hand, at Portland, Oregon, in

said District, this 23d day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

[Seal]

CHAS. E. WOLVERTON,

Judge.

Due service of the above citation admitted this 23d day of July, A. D. 1919.

BARNETT H. GOLDSTEIN,

Attorney for Respondent,

Asst. U. S. Atty. [1*]

[Endorsed]: No. 8457. 23-195. United States District Court, District of Oregon. In the Matter of the Application of Neil Guiney for a Writ of Habeas Corpus. Citation on Appeal. Filed July 23, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. By K. F. Frazer, Deputy Clerk.

In the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon.

March Term, 1919.

BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the 13th day of June, 1919, there was duly filed in the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon a petition for writ of habeas corpus, in words and figures as follows, to wit: [2]

*Page-number appearing at foot of page of original certified Transcript of Record.

*In the District Court of the United States for the
District of Oregon.*

In the Matter of the Application of NEIL GUINEY
for Writ of Habeas Corpus and Ancillary
Writ of Certiorari.

Complaint.

To the Honorable ROBERT S. BEAN, one of the
Judges of the Above-entitled Court:

Comes now Neil Guiney, petitioner herein, by
George F. Vanderveer, his attorney, and complains
and alleges as follows:

1. That for more than six years last past your
petitioner has been continuously a resident of the
United States of America, engaged in pursuing as
a means of livelihood his vocation as a logger and
river driver.

2. That on or about the 20th day of February,
1919, your petitioner was arrested by R. P. Bonham,
United States Inspector in Charge of Immigration
for the District of Oregon, in obedience to the man-
date of a warrant of arrest issued by the Secretary
of Labor of the United States, wherein your peti-
tioner is accused of having been found within the
United States advocating the unlawful destruction
of property and directing that an inquiry be had
before a United States Inspector to determine the
merits of said charge. That in pursuance of the
mandate of said warrant a hearing was had before
a United States Inspector of Immigration to in-

quire into said charge, whereupon your petitioner was informed that the additional charge had been filed against him, to wit, that he was a member of an organization, namely the Industrial Workers of the World, which organization advocated the destruction of property, the overthrowing of organized government and the [3] commission of acts of violence, and to sustain the charge contained in said warrant of arrest as so amended and enlarged, said United States Inspector of Immigration placed your petitioner under oath and took his testimony in relation to the matters referred to, wherefrom it appears, without contradiction, that your petitioner neither does nor at any time has believed in nor advocated the destruction of property, the commission of acts of violence, the overthrow of organized government in any form, or the commission of any criminal acts; that your petitioner has since 1916 been a member of an organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World, sometimes acting therefor in an official capacity; that at the time of his arrest he was and for a short time had been duly qualified and acting secretary of Lumber Workers Union No. 500, a branch or department of said Industrial Workers of the World; that he believed in the principles of said organization in so far as they were expressed in its preamble, namely: that the present industrial system, sometimes known as the wage system, was unsound economically and unjust to employees in industry; that the same resulted in unjust and unsocial inequalities of economic circumstance and the unjust exploitation of working

people and should be changed by an organization of the workers organized on industrial lines for the purpose of preventing such exploitation; that it further appeared from said testimony that your petitioner had as an officer of said Industrial Workers of the World been instrumental in distributing among its members large quantities of literature on economic questions published by said organization without editorial comment either of approval or disapproval; that he personally agreed with the views of some of the writers as expressed therein and disagreed with others, but that no evidence was produced to show what pamphlets your petitioner has been thus instrumental in distributing, or with what views he agreed or with what he disagreed, except that it [4] appeared therefrom that your petitioner did not believe in the destruction of property or the commission of acts of crime or violence, or the overthrow of organized government as a means of accomplishing such industrial reform, nor had he ever been instrumental in distributing any works on sabotage or that certain pamphlet known as "The I. W. W., Its History, Structure, and Methods," written by Vincent St. John, nor did said Industrial Workers of the World believe in or advocate any such practices, but, on the contrary, in April, 1918, the general executive board of said organization had duly and regularly adopted and distributed among the members of said organization as the first official declaration of its attitude on said matters, a resolution directly repudiating and disavowing and disapproving all of

such practices. That it further appeared at said hearing that in November, 1917, your petitioner was arrested in St. Maries, Benwah County, Idaho, on a charge of criminal syndicalism, wherein it was charged that he was a member of and associated with an organization, namely, the Industrial Workers of the World, which advocated the commission of crime and acts of violence, destruction of property and other acts of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial reforms, and on the trial of said charge before a jury duly impaneled in the District Court of said county, your petitioner was found not guilty thereof. That the only evidence introduced against your petitioner on said hearing was his own testimony under oath, which was thereafter reduced to writing in the form of sixteen typewritten pages and a copy of the Joe Hill Memorial Edition of [5] of an I. W. W. song book which was attached thereto as an exhibit. That no other evidence of any kind was ever offered or received against your petitioner. That all of said evidence in so far as it bore upon the charges hereinabove referred to was of the character hereinabove indicated and there was no evidence to sustain either the charge that your petitioner or the Industrial Workers of the World believed in or advocated or justified the destruction of property, the commission of crime, or acts of violence or the overthrow of any organized government.

3. That notwithstanding the utter absence of any evidence to sustain either of the charges which your petitioner was held to answer, and notwithstanding

that all the evidence in relation thereto negated and disproved both charges, on or about the first of June, 1919, the Secretary of Labor of the United States arbitrarily and without any authority in law for so doing issued his warrant in writing, wherein he found that your petitioner had been found within the United States advocating the unlawful destruction of property, and wherein he ordered that your petitioner be deported from the United States of America to the Dominion of Canada, the country from which he came. That said warrant was made without due process of law and is wholly void, and your petitioner's restraint and detention thereunder are wholly void and a violation of his rights under the constitution and laws of the United States; but that the said R. P. Bonham, acting under the pretended authority thereof intends to and will, unless restrained therefrom by this Court, remove your petitioner from the United States of America, where he has a lawful right to remain, to the Dominion of Canada. [6]

4. That your petitioner is now and at all times hereinabove referred to has been unlawfully restrained and deprived of his liberty by said R. P. Bonham, United States Inspector of Immigration in charge of immigration for the District of Oregon, in the Multnomah county jail, county of Multnomah, State of Oregon, under and by color of authority of the warrants issued by the Department of Labor of the United States hereinabove referred to, and not otherwise; that your petitioner is not now nor has he at any of the times herein referred to held under any

order, process, decree or commitment of any court, nor under any process whatever, nor from any cause whatever other than as herein alleged.

5. That your petitioner has no plain, speedy or adequate remedy at law by which to procure relief from unlawful custody as herein alleged or by which to prevent his unlawful deportation and removal from the United States of America.

6. That on the 12th day of June, 1919, acting by George F. Vanderveer, his attorney, your petitioner demanded of said R. P. Bonham copies of the warrants of arrest and deportation, and a transcript of the testimony hereinabove referred to, in order that he might incorporate the same in this petition, and offered to pay therefor the usual fees for the preparation thereof, and said R. P. Bonham then and there permitted your petitioner's attorney to inspect all of said documents and offered to furnish your petitioner with copies thereof on payment of stenographic charges for preparing the same, but thereafter on the 13th day of June, 1919, acting upon the advice or instructions of A. P. Schell, an officer of the United States Department of Labor, attached to the New York office of said department, the said R. P. Bonham arbitrarily and with full knowledge [7] of the use which your petitioner intended to make thereof, refused either to furnish your petitioner with copies of said records and documents or to permit his said attorney to again inspect the same, and because thereof your petitioner is wholly unable to incorporate the same in this petition, or to make any

more definite statement regarding the contents thereof.

WHEREFORE, your petitioner prays an order that a writ of habeas corpus issue out of and under the seal of this Court directed to R. P. Bonham, United States Inspector in charge of Immigration for the District of Oregon, requiring said R. P. Bonham to have the body of your petitioner in court at such time as may be fixed therefor, then and there to show cause, if any he has, why your petitioner should be longer restrained of his liberty.

And your petitioner further prays that said R. P. Bonham be required to produce and attach to his return to said writ copies of the warrant of arrest, warrant of deportation and a transcript of the evidence introduced against your petitioner all hereinabove referred to, to the end that this court may review said proceedings and determine therefrom whether the processes duly and regularly established by law have been followed and complied with, and your petitioner will ever pray.

NEIL GUINEY,
Petitioner.

GEORGE F. VANDERVEER,
Attorney for Petitioner. [8]

State of Oregon,
County of Multnomah,—ss.

Neil Guiney, being first duly sworn, says that he is the petitioner named in the foregoing complaint; that he has read said complaint and knows the contents thereof, and that except as to the matters referred to therein relating to the acts of his attorney,

the same is true of his own knowledge, and as to said other matters he has been informed and verily believes that the same are true.

NEIL GUINEY.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 13th day of June, ———.

[Seal]

MARTIN T. PRATT,
Notary Public for Oregon.

My commission expires Jan. 24, 1921.

Filed Jun. 13, 1919. G. H. Marsh. [9]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on Friday, the 13th day of June, 1919, the same being the 88th judicial day of the regular March term of said court—Present, the Honorable ROBERT S. BEAN, United States District Judge, presiding—the following proceedings were had in said cause, to wit: [10]

In the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon.

8457.

In the Matter of the Application of NEIL GUINEY
for a Writ of Habeas Corpus and Ancillary
Writ of Certiorari.

Order for Issuance of Writ of Habeas Corpus.

Upon reading and filing the complaint of petitioner herein, and it appearing therefrom that said petitioner Neil Guiney is unlawfully restrained of his liberty in the Multnomah County Jail, in Multnomah

County, Oregon, by R. P. Bonham, United States Inspector in Charge of Immigration for the District of Oregon, under and by color of authority of certain warrants issued by the Secretary of Labor of the United States, and that it is necessary to review the proceedings on which said warrants are based, that the Court should examine said warrants and the testimony taken in support thereof;

NOW, THEREFORE, on motion of George F. Vanderveer, attorney for the petitioner, IT IS ORDERED that a writ of habeas corpus issue out of and under the seal of this court directed to R. P. Bonham, United States Commissioner in Charge of Immigration for the District of Oregon, commanding him to produce the body of the petitioner, Neil Guiney, in this court on the 23d day of June, 1919, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon thereof, then and there to receive what the Court shall consider in the premises, and that said R. P. Bonham make return to said writ showing by what authority he restrains the said petitioner of his liberty, and that he incorporate in said return a transcript of all the testimony taken in relation to such detention.

Done in open court this 13th day of June, 1919.

R. S. BEAN,
Judge.

Filed Jun. 13, 1919. G. H. Marsh. [11]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on the 26th day of June, 1919, there was duly filed in said court the return of the United States marshal of service of writ, in words and figures as follows, to wit: [12]

Return on Service of Writ of Habeas Corpus.

United States of America,
District of Oregon,—ss.

I hereby certify and return that I served the annexed writ of habeas corpus on the therein named R. P. Bonham by handing to and leaving a true and correct copy thereof with R. P. Bonham personally at Portland, in said District, on the 14th day of June, A. D. 1919.

GEO. F. ALEXANDER,
U. S. Marshal.

By R. E. Lawrence,
Deputy.

Filed June 26, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. [13]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on the 30th day of June, 1919, there was duly filed in said court the answer and return of respondent, in words and figures as follows, to wit: [14]

In the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon.

In the Matter of the Application of NEIL GUINEY
for Writ of Habeas Corpus.

Answer and Return of R. P. Bonham to Order to Show Cause.

To the Honorable Judges of the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon:

Comes now R. P. Bonham, respondent herein, appearing by Barnett H. Goldstein, Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Oregon, and for his return and answer to the order of this Honorable Court, heretofore on the 13th day of June, 1919, issued and directed to him to show by what authority the petitioner herein, Neil Guiney, is restrained of his liberty and to show cause why the said Neil Guiney should not be discharged from custody, respectfully shows unto the Court and alleges:

I.

That one W. F. Watkins is now and for more than six years past has been a duly appointed, qualified and acting inspector of the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Labor of the United States, and during all the said times herein mentioned was designated and appointed such inspector to perform the duties of such official within the State and District of Oregon, and that among the duties of said Inspector are those of the enforcement of the Acts of Congress and the laws of the United States pertaining to and having to do with the immigration and deportation of aliens resident or found within the United States, and particularly within said District of Oregon, [14 $\frac{1}{2}$] not legally entitled to be and remain in this country for reasons propounded by law.

II.

That on, to wit, the 18th day of February, 1919, the said W. F. Watkins, Inspector as aforesaid, received from the United States Secretary of Labor a telegraphic warrant of the said Secretary number 54616/70, for the arrest of the petitioner Neil Guiney, charging him with being an alien, who advocated or taught the unlawful destruction of property in violation of the Immigration Act of February 17th, and which said warrant directed him the said W. F. Watkins, to take said petitioner into custody and to grant him a hearing to show cause why he should not be deported in conformity with law. That a copy of said warrant is hereto attached and made a part hereof and marked Exhibit "A."

III.

That in obedience to said warrant the said W. F. Watkins thereupon caused the arrest of the said petitioner and on, to wit, the 20th day of February, 1919, at Portland, in the State and District of Oregon, granted a hearing to said petitioner, informing him that the purpose of said hearing was to afford him an opportunity to show cause why he should not be deported to the country whence he came, said warrant being read and each and every allegation therein contained carefully explained to him. The petitioner was thereupon given an opportunity to inspect the warrant of arrest and the evidence upon which it was issued, which privilege was accepted.

IV.

Thereupon and on the said 20th day of February, 1919, the hearing was conducted by W. F. Watkins

as examining inspector, [15] in the presence of the said Neil Guiney and Margaret A. Scott, a stenographer; that a subsequent hearing was had on March 4, 1919, at Portland, in the State and District of Oregon, at which were present the said W. F. Watkins, examining inspector, the petitioner herein and Margaret S. Scott, stenographer; that a further and final hearing was had on May 10, 1919, at Portland, in the State and District of Oregon, at which were present the said W. F. Watkins, the examining inspector, the petitioner herein and James Trail, a stenographer.

V.

That all of said hearings were had for the purpose of determining whether the said Neil Guiney was in the United States in violation of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, for advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property as charged in said warrant of arrest, and to enable the said petitioner to show cause why he should not be deported in conformity with law upon the grounds aforesaid and were so instituted and conducted in all respects in conformity with the Immigration rules of the United States Department of Labor; that the original record of said hearings and the exhibits therein received are hereby referred to and by such reference incorporated *wherein* and presented and filed in court in this cause.

VI.

That thereafter and on the 10th day of May, 1919, the complete record of said hearings granted the said petitioner was by the said W. F. Watkins, Immigra-

tion Inspector, transmitted to the Commissioner General of Immigration of the United States in conformity with the immigration laws as aforesaid, together with the recommendations of the said Immigration Inspector and then [16] and there in charge of the Immigration Office at Portland, Oregon, for the consideration and determination of the said Commissioner General of Immigration and the Secretary of Labor as to whether or not a warrant for the deportation of the said petitioner should issue.

VII.

That thereafter and on, to wit, the 27th day of May, 1919, and after a consideration of the record in said proceedings and hearing for the deportation of the said petitioner, transmitted to him as aforesaid, the Honorable Secretary of Labor found and decided that the petitioner Neil Guiney was an alien found in the United States in violation of the Immigration Act of February 5, 1917, in that he was found advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property, and thereupon issued warrant for the deportation of the petitioner to the country from whence he came, to wit, Canada, which said warrant was directed to John H. Clark, United States Commissioner of Immigration, Montreal, Canada, and thereafter forwarded for service upon petitioner, to R. P. Bonham, respondent herein; that copy of said warrant of deportation is hereto attached and made a part hereof marked Exhibit "B."

VIII.

That R. P. Bonham, respondent herein, is now and

during the three years last past has been, an immigration inspector in charge of the United States Immigration Service, Department of Labor, at Portland, in the State of Oregon, and by virtue of said office is authorized to serve warrants of deportation, such as aforesaid, upon and to arrest the persons therein named. [17]

IX.

That R. P. Bonham, the respondent herein, was on, to wit, the 27th day of May, 1919, directed by the Commissioner General of Immigration to retain said Neil Guiney in custody, and to convey him to such point in Canada as the said John H. Clark, United States Commissioner of Immigration, may designate, in pursuance to the warrant of deportation on said date issued by the Secretary of Labor, commanding the said John H. Clark to deport the said Neil Guiney, alien, for the reasons herein alleged.

X.

That R. P. Bonham, the respondent herein, in obedience to such directions and the warrant of deportation as hereinbefore alleged, has taken the said Neil Guiney into custody and detained him in the Multnomah County Jail at Portland, Oregon, pending deportation of the said petitioner to Canada; that petitioner still remains in the Multnomah County Jail during the presentation by petitioner in this court of his application for writ of habeas corpus and that the said times and dates are the times and dates of imprisonment and detention of him, the said petitioner, by the said R. P. Bonham; that said

warrant of deportation is the cause and authority of him, the said R. P. Bonham, for the said imprisonment and detention of him, the said petitioner, as aforesaid.

XI.

That the petitioner Neil Guiney is legally detained by reason of the proceedings aforesaid and should be deported [18] into Canada in accordance with the law and legal procedure respecting the case; that the said hearing was fair and impartial and properly and regularly conducted as disclosed by the exhibits hereto attached and made a part thereof and the testimony duly and regularly transmitted to satisfy and did satisfy the proper authorities as to the merits of the Government's claim that said petitioner should be deported in accordance with the law and the rules and regulations in furtherance thereof; that said petitioner was accorded every right under the law and many courtesies not required by law and all files, testimony and matters bearing upon the case and necessary for petitioner to know were shown petitioner and full information imparted and full disclosures made therein.

WHEREFORE, the said R. P. Bonham, having fully answered the said order to show cause why writ of habeas corpus for the said Neil Guiney should not be issued as prayed in the said petition of the said Neil Guiney, and why, upon the final hearing of the said cause, the said Neil Guiney should not be discharged from the custody of the said R. P. Bonham, prays that the order heretofore in the said 13th day of June, 1919, issued by this Honorable Court and

directed to him as aforesaid, may be discharged, and said petitioner, Neil Guiney, remanded to the custody of him, the said R. P. Bonham, for execution of the said warrant of deportation, with costs to the United States of America, and against petitioner.

R. P. BONHAM,

Immigration Inspector at Portland, Oregon.

BARNETT H. GOLDSTEIN,

Assistant United States Attorney for Oregon, and
Attorney for R. P. Bonham. [19]

State of Oregon,
County of Multnomah,—ss.

I, R. P. Bonham, being first duly sworn, do on oath depose and say:

That I am now and during the three years last past have been Immigration Inspector in charge of the United States Immigration Service for the State and District of Oregon and stationed at Portland, Oregon; that I have read the foregoing return and answer to the order of this Honorable Court heretofore on the 13th day of June, 1919, issued and directed to me to show cause why writ of habeas corpus should not issue and know the facts therein stated and contained, and that the same are true, as I verily believe.

R. P. BONHAM.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of June, 1919.

[Seal]

JOHN C. VEATCH,

Notary Public for Oregon.

My commission expires Oct. 30, 1920. [20]

Exhibit "A."

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.
WASHINGTON.

No. 54616/70.

To R. P. BONHAM, Inspector in Charge, Portland,
Oregon, or to Any Immigrant Inspector in the
Service of the United States.

WHEREAS, from evidence submitted to me,
it appears that the alien

NEAL GUINEY,

who landed at an unknown port on or about the 1st
day of Jan., 1918, has been found in the United
States in violation of the immigration act of Feb-
ruary 5, 1917, for the following among other
reasons:

That he has been found advocating or teaching the
unlawful destruction of property.

I, JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE, Acting Secretary
of Labor, by virtue of the power and authority vested
in me by the laws of the United States, do hereby
command you to take into custody the said alien and
grant him a hearing to enable him to show cause why
he should not be deported in conformity with law.

The expenses of detention hereunder, if necessary,
are authorized, payable from the appropriation "Ex-
penses of Regulating Immigration, 1919." Pend-
ing further proceedings the alien may be released
from custody upon furnishing satisfactory bond in
the sum of \$2,000.

For so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.
Witness my hand and seal this 18th day of February, 1919.

(Exact Copy as signed by John W. Abercrombie, March 2, 1919. B.)

ACTING SECRETARY OF LABOR. [21]

Exhibit "B."

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.
WASHINGTON.

No. 54616/70.

Incl. No. 1822.

To John H. Clark, U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, Montreal, Canada.

WHEREAS, from proofs submitted to me, after due hearing before Immigration Inspector W. F. Watkins, held at Portland, Oregon, I have become satisfied that the alien

NEIL (OR NEAL) GUINEY,
who landed presumably at the port of Gateway, Montana, on or about the 1st day of March, 1913, has been found in the United States in violation of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, to wit:

That he has been found advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property, and may be deported in accordance therewith;

I, JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE, Acting Secretary of Labor, by virtue of the power and authority vested in my by the laws of the United States, do hereby command you to return the said alien to Canada the country whence he came at the expense

of the appropriation, "Expenses of Regulating Immigration, 1919."

For so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Witness my hand and seal this 27th day of May, 1919.

ACTING SECRETARY OF LABOR.

(Exact copy as signed by John W. Abercrombie mailed May 27, by B.)

Filed June 30, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. By K. F. Frazer, Deputy. [22]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on the 30th day of June, 1919, there was duly filed in said court, transcript of proceedings before the Secretary of Labor, as an exhibit to the answer and return of respondent, in words and figures as follows, to wit: [23]

Transcript of Proceedings Before the Secretary of Labor as an Exhibit to Answer and Return of Respondent.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Gen. No. 16.

54616/70.

Inc. 6200.

Washington, D. C., June 17th, 1919.

I hereby certify that the annexed is a true copy of the original file constituting the record of the Bureau of Immigration, Washington, D. C., in the case of

the alien Neil (or Neal) Guiney.

A. CAMINETTI,
Commissioner-General of Immigration.

(Official Title.)

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

I hereby certify that A. Caminetti, who signed the foregoing certificate, is now, and was at the time of signing, Commissioner-General of Immigration, and that full faith and credit should be given his certification as such.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto subscribed my name, and caused the seal of the Department of Labor to be affixed this 17th day of June, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

[Seal, Department of Labor.]

JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE,
Acting Secretary of Labor.

EFH. [24]

COPY OF TELEGRAM.

Seattle, Wash., June 14th, 1919.

Immigration Bureau,
Washington, D. C.

Acting upon suggestion of Governor Boyle, and other prominent citizens of Nevada, I interviewed at Los Angeles Attorney Clearly who represented Tonopah cases found him to be defiant and abusive of Governemtn laws, and officials. He stated it was the intention of the organization to obstruct all deportation proceedings as they were illegal. Saw Attorney VanVer at Protland yesterday, he demanded of inspector Bonham copy of record in case Neil Guiney number five four one six line seventy

stated it was his purpose to secure writ to discredit department officials as warrant of deportation issued without the record being examined. His request was refused. If writ issues hearing will be postponed until I see you. Have received copy of Judge Hand in Seattle cases suggest same be annexed to synopsis of cases for guidance of officers leaving Teusday morning, arrive Chicage noon Friday twentieth.

SCHELL.

6/16

File

A. W. P.

For orig. see 235-85 LEMP. [25]

54616-70.

May 27th, 1919.

OFFICIAL COPIES to the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration at Montreal, Canada, for his information. The alien will be conveyed to such point in Canada as you may designate by an officer detailed by the Inspector in Charge at Portland, Oregon, to whom advices should be furnished.

For the Commissioner-General.

(Stamp) Exact copy as signed by Alfred Hampton.

Mailed May 27, by ——.

ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER-GENERAL.

RWS.

EFH. [26]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.
WASHINGTON.

No. 54616/70.

Incl. No. 1822.

To John H. Clark, U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, Montreal, Canada.

WHEREAS, from proofs submitted to me, after due hearing before Immigrant Inspector W. F. Watkins, held at Portland, Oregon, I have become satisfied that the alien

NEIL (or NEAL) GUINEY,
who landed presumably at the port of Gateway, Montana, on or about the 1st day of March, 1913, has been found in the United States in violation of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, to wit; That he had been found advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property, and may be deported in accordance therewith:

I, JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE, Acting Secretary of Labor, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by the laws of the United States, do hereby command you to return the said alien to Canada the country whence he came, at the expense of the appropriation, "Expenses of Regulating Immigration, 1919."

For so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Witness my hand and seal this 27th day of May, 1919.

(Stamp) Exact copy as signed by John W. Abercrombie.

Mailed May 27, by B.
ACTING SECRETARY OF LABOR.

WW.

EFH.

RWS. [27]

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.
BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION.
WASHINGTON.

In answering refer to
No. 54616/70

May 27th, 1919.

Inspector in Charge,
Immigration Service,
Portland, Oregon.

Sir:

The Bureau acknowledges the receipt of your letter of May 10th, 1919, No. 5040/30, transmitting record of hearing accorded the alien NEIL (or NEAL) GUINEY, who entered presumably at the port of Gateway, Montana, on or about the 1st day of March, 1913.

After a careful examination of the evidence submitted in this case, the Department is of the opinion that the alien is in the United States in violation of law. You are therefore directed to cause him to be taken into custody and conveyed to such point in Canada as the U. S. Commissioner of Immigration at Montreal, Canada, may designate, the expenses incident to such conveyance, including the employment of an attendant to assist in delivery, if necessary, at a nominal compensation of \$1.00 and expenses both

ways, being authorized, payable from the appropriation "Expenses of Regulating Immigration, 1919."

Respectfully,

For the Commissioner-General.

(Stamp) Exact copy as signed by Alfred Hampton. Mailed May 27, by ——.

Approved: Assistant Commissioner General.

(Stamp) Exact copy as signed by John W. Abercrombie. Mailed May 27, by ——.

Acting Secretary.

Inclose W. D. No. 1822.

RWS.

EFH. [28]

(On Slip:)

After an examination of the attached record I find the same to be correct as to form and procedure, and in accordance with Rule 22 of the Immigration Rules.

H. McCLELLAND,

Law Examiner.

Noted

May 23/19.

AWP.

54616-70.

May 21, 1919.

In re NEIL GUINEY; aged 29; native and citizen of Canada; entered presumably at Gateway, Montana, without inspection, on or about March 1st, 1913.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ACTING SECRETARY.

The above-named alien was arrested at Portland, Oregon, on the ground that he has been found advo-

cating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property.

This man states that during his period of residence in this country he has for the most part been employed as a lumber jack in the forests of the northwest; that he became a member of the I. W. W. in October, 1916, and since the latter part of September, 1918, he has been secretary of the Lumber Workers branch of the I. W. W.; also that he has been at various times stationary delegate, branch secretary and traveling delegate. He is now in charge of the Union Headquarters of the Lumbermen's branch, Portland, which has a membership of about 35,000. He says that until arrested he received a weekly salary of \$28.00, but is not being paid now because he is not functioning. A deposit of \$1300.00 in his name in the Hibernia Savings Bank represents the account he is keeping for the organization. He says that his duties as secretary of the Lumbermen's branch of the I. W. W. are to look after the accounts of the organization, supervise the work, keep in touch with the members, answer correspondence, and superintend the distribution of I. W. W. literature. He says that while he does not agree in all things with some of the I. W. W. writers he is in thorough accord with the objects and aims of the organization as a whole. As to the question of sabotage he [29] attempts to say that the I. W. W. does not teach this doctrine. At the same time he admits that among other I. W. W. literature he has distributed the pamphlet entitled "I. W. W. Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent," and "The Revo-

lutionary I. W. W.” These pamphlets are made a part of the record and an examination of same will clearly show that the first mentioned one does teach the doctrine of sabotage or the unlawful destruction of property, and the second, Bolshevism, as will be noted by an excerpt taken from it as follows: “We are going to do away with Capitalism by taking possession of the land and the machinery of production. We don’t intend to buy them, either.” The alien is quite intelligent and during the hearing was evasive and argumentative. It was rather difficult to secure direct answers from him. Guiney admits that he was previously arrested and prosecuted in the State of Idaho on the charge of criminal syndicalism, but was finally acquitted after spending four months in jail awaiting trial. The Inspector in Charge at Portland is of the opinion that this man is a dangerous and active member of the I. W. W. and has done all he could to assist in spreading pernicious propaganda in that section of the country.

In view of his admitted activities in selling and distributing sabotage-teaching literature, the Bureau finds that he is guilty of the charge of teaching or advocating the unlawful destruction of property, and upon that ground recommends his deportation to Canada at Government expense.

A. CAMINETTI,
Commissioner-General.

HMc/SHN.
Approved.

JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE,
Acting Secretary. [30]

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.
IMMIGRATION SERVICE.

In Answering Refer to
No. 5040/30

Office of Inspector in Charge
Portland, Oreg.

May 10, 1919.

Hon. Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of the 5th inst., file No. 54616/70, directing that the alien, Neil Guiney, be re-questioned as to kind of literature he has distributed while acting as secretary, organizer and delegate for the I. W. W. organization.

Enclosed please find transcript in duplicate of his statement secured this day. You will note therefrom that the alien has identified four I. W. W. pamphlets, samples of which are herewith transmitted, as part of the literature which he as I. W. W. secretary, organizer and delegate has distributed. Among publications so identified is the book entitled "I. W. W. Songs—To Fan the Flames of Discontent" as referred to in Bureau's letter. You will note that the alien circulated this pamphlet in his capacity as delegate for the Lumberworkers' Union of the I. W. W., the further circulation of the publication, after he became secretary of the union, being interrupted because of their supply having become exhausted. The alien mentions a later edition of the book which was thereafter printed and circulated by his union. It is hoped that the evidence herewith enclosed will supply the information which the Bureau desires and

enable it to reach a conclusion in this case.

Previous to the introduction in evidence of the [31] enclosed pamphlets, Guiney was again thoroughly questioned as to his alleged birth and residence in Canada. The record of this examination was not included with the transcript forwarded herewith as we did not desire to burden you with reading a mass of testimony having to do solely with that question. Information obtained on that point, however, will be forwarded to the Commissioner of Immigration, Montreal, in a further effort to secure the consent of the Dominion authorities to Guiney's return to Canada. Alien is a very clever fellow and is trying to withhold all information possible which might be used by us in establishing his Canadian citizenship. We hope to be able to secure satisfactory evidence of his nationality, however, and effect his return to Canada whenever the Department so orders.

We have heretofore sent you copies of a number of communications passing between this alien, who is confined in the County Jail here, and other "fellow workers" of the I. W. W. Copies of five such communications are forwarded herewith as being of possible interest to the Bureau.

W. F. WATKINS,
Acting Inspector in Charge.

WFW:JT. [32]

U. S. IMMIGRATION SERVICE,
Office of Inspector in Charge,
Portland, Oregon.

Report of statement taken by Immigration Inspector, W. F. Watkins, in the case of Neil Guiney,

at Portland office, May 10, 1919.

Present: W. F. WATKINS, Examining Inspector.

JAS. TRAIL, Stenographer.

Alien, being sworn, testified as follows:

Q. You are the same Neil Guiney, are you, who testified in this office on February 20th, 1919, during your hearing under Departmental Warrant of arrest dated February 18th, 1919? A. Yes.

* * * * * * * *

Q. (Testimony referring to circulation of I. W. W. Literature by Neil Guiney.)

Q. Now, Mr. Guiney, what pamphlets and literature has the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 500, of the I. W. W. organization, of which you have been secretary, been circulating?

A. Most of the pamphlets of the I. W. W. except those pertaining to other specific industries.

Q. I show you a sample of "The Revolutionary I. W. W.," by Grover H. Perry. Is that one of the pamphlets of your union, of which you are Secretary? A. Yes.

Q. I show you a pamphlet entitled "The I. W. W.—Its History, Structure and Methods," by Vincent St. John. Is that one of the publications circulated by your union?

A. It has been circulated by the Lumber Workers' Union, yes. I do not think it was while I was in office. To the best of my knowledge it was not handled while I was in office for the simple reason that it was out of publication and it is an old pamphlet and is not being used. [33]

Q. I show you a pamphlet entitled "I. W. W.

Songs—To Fan the Flames of Discontent—(Industrial Workers of the World—I. W. W. Universal Label) Joe Hill Memorial Edition.” Is that one of the pamphlets circulated by your union?

A. The book was out of print when I became Headquarters Secretary for Union 500 of the I. W. W. I distributed that book prior to that time as Stationary Delegate of Lumber Workers' Union of the I. W. W. when I was at St. Marys, Idaho. This is an old edition. There is a later edition of the Song Book published by the General Office entitled “General Defense League.”

Q. Does it contain the same songs as this pamphlet? A. Some of them.

Q. Did you formerly circulate this song book?

A. Yes, but not within the last year.

Q. It is not printed any more?

A. There is a later edition and we have been circulating the later edition.

Q. But during your official connection with the I. W. W. you have circulated this particular song book?

A. While I was a member of the organization, yes.

Q. And you yourself have circulated the book?

A. Yes.

Q. I show you a pamphlet entitled: “I. W. W. One Big Union Of All The Workers—The Greatest Thing on Earth.” Is that one of the pamphlets circulated by you as an official of the I. W. W.?

A. Yes.

* * * * *

Certified true transcript.

JAMES TRAIL,
Stenographer. [34]

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Office of Inspector in Charge,
Portland, Oregon.

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A. Yes.

* * * * *

Certified true transcript.

JAMES TRAIL,
Stenographer. [36]

(Cover of Pamphlet:)

THE
REVOLUTIONARY
I. W. W.

By Grover H. Perry.

[Industrial Workers of The World I. W. W. Universal Label.]

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau,
112 Hamilton Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. [37]

(Title page:)

THE
REVOLUTIONARY

I. W. W.

By Grover H. Perry.

HOW SCABS ARE BRED

By the Same Author

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM

OF THE I. W. W.

By B. H. Williams

Price Five Cents

Cleveland

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau

July 1916 [38]

THE REVOLUTIONARY I. W. W.

What kind of an organization is the Industrial Workers of the World? Why is it organized? Where is it organized? How is it organized?

These are questions that are being asked all over the country to-day by workers, students and men and women from all walks of life.

Thousands of columns of newspaper publicity has been given to the Industrial Workers of the World as a result of its activity. Countless magazine articles have been devoted to it and its alleged prin-

iples. Still, the reading public has at best but a hazy conception of what the organization really is or what it stands for.

These questions the writer will try to deal with in his own way. First of all, however, it is necessary to show a few of the things "which we are not."

The I. W. W. is not a political organization in the sense that political organizations are to-day understood. It is not an anti-political sect. It is not a reform body. Its membership is not made up of anarchists, as some writers have stated. Its ranks are not exclusively composed of socialists, as others have asserted. True, some of its members may have accepted the anarchist philosophy. Others may have accepted the socialist faith. However, to the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World they are known only as workers, as members of the working class.

What "One Big Union" Means.

The Industrial Workers of the World is a labor union that aspires to be the future society. It is a labor organization that holds that craft, district, or other forms of division [39] are harmful to the workers. It teaches that an industrial system of organization must replace the antiquated forms.

Every man, woman or child who works in a given industry must be organized into the one big industrial union of his or her industry. The "ONE BIG UNION" slogan of the I. W. W. does not mean mass unionism. It does not mean that the railroad worker, the plumber, the teamster and the baker will be all in the same local union. That form of organ-

ization has been proven a failure. It has been shown to be unsound. Mass organization, irrespective of industrial needs, is too unwieldy to produce results.

The "one big union" slogan of the I. W. W. means CLASS organization according to industry. It has been proven practical by the capitalists themselves. All the great trusts and monopolies are organized according to industry. The steel trust, for example, not only owns the mills wherein steel rails and other products are made, but also the mines from which the iron ore is taken. It owns the railroads leading from the mines to the lakes. It owns the steamship lines that haul the ore. It owns the blast furnaces that smelt the ore. In short, the steel trust is an industrial organization, covering every branch of the industry. The I. W. W. proposes to follow the bosses' plan and scope of organization for the benefit of the worker.

THE RAILROAD INDUSTRY.

Let us show an example—the railroad industry. This will show the form of the organization of the I. W. W. It will also tend to show the futility of the craft form of organization.

Every worker on a railroad, whether he be a section [40] hand or a locomotive engineer, works for the same employer. All are necessary to the maintenance and operation of the railroad. If they were not they would not be employed. Railway corporations do not hire men from philanthropic motives; they hire men because they need them. All these workers are but units in the great railway

organization. All perform certain functions, without which the railroad could not be operated. The section hand must keep the track in repair, else the engineer cannot run his locomotive at the required speed.

All have the same interests in common—more wages, shorter hours, and better conditions. Logically all should be organized together. However, we find that the craft union organizes the engineer into an isolated union having its own international officers and its own agreement with the railway company. The brakeman is in another union, having another agreement or contract; the conductor in another, and so on all along the line. We find that there are seven different international craft unions in the railway industry, not to mention the shopmen. In the railroad shops and roundhouses there are at least ten other craft organizations. All these different organizations have separate contracts with the railroad company; all these contracts expire at different dates. The result is disastrous to the workers. When the fireman goes on strike, the engineer remains at work; his union contract must be lived up to; he is liable to a heavy fine if he violates it. The engineer stays on the job and teaches the scab fireman how to attend to the water gauge. He teaches him how to attend to the boiler. In short, he teaches the amateur scab how to become an efficient scab. When the switchman goes on strike, the brakeman remains at work, and vice versa. [41]

A few years ago, during the switchmen's strike on all railroads west of Chicago, union brakeman

switched the trains before starting on their runs. After doing switchmen's work while the latter were on strike, the brakemen then voted a strike assessment to help the switchmen. It was like cutting a man's head off and then offering him a piece of court-plaster to heal it with.

At the present writing (July, 1913), a strike is on on the Illinois Central railroad among the shopmen in the railroad shops and roundhouses. Union conductors, engineers and firemen are hauling scabs to and from their work. Union switchmen switch disabled engines into the roundhouse for the scabs to repair. All this time the shopmen are struggling for better conditions.

We of the Industrial Workers of the World hold that organization as outlined above is nothing more or less than organized scabbing. Whenever a group of workers remain at work while others in the same industry are striking for better conditions, they are helping to defeat those who are on strike. In so doing they are acting the part of scabs. The mere fact that they carry a craft union card in their pocket does not change the status of the case. If their union sanctions such action, then their union card is nothing more than a scabbing permit.

The I. W. W. claims that inasmuch as every worker on the railroad is necessary to the maintenance and operation of the railroad, therefore every worker should belong to the "one big union" of railroad workers. The section hand, the trackman, the engineer, the switchman, and others—all in their industrial union. Then when a strike is to be called,

call them all out, from the man who handles a shovel on the grade, to the man who handles the throttle of a locomotive; from the man [42] who pushes a truck in the freight house to the man who pushes a telegrapher's key in the dispatcher's office.

Then you have a real railroad strike. Not a train would move. The industry would be paralyzed. Think what power the workers would have. The railroad company would be forced to accede to the demands of the workers. That is the way the I. W. W. proposes to organize.

I. W. W. AIMS TO INCLUDE ALL WAGE WORKERS.

As we would organize the railroads, so we would organize all workers in all industries. Carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers, cement mixers, masons, laborers, and all building workers, into one industrial union of building workers. Weavers, spinners, doffers and loom-fixers, together with all other textile workers into one big industrial union of textile workers. Barbers, elevator boys, janitors, etc., into one union of public service workers.

All industrial unions of a kindred nature are to be combined into the industrial department to which they belong. For example, Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union, Railway Transportation Workers' Union, Railway Construction Workers' Industrial Union, Street Car, Subway, Elevated R. R. Workers' Industrial Union, etc.—all organized in the Transportation Department of the Industrial Workers of the World.

All industrial unions, industrial departments and

local unions, to compose one great central organization—the Industrial Workers of the World. This organization will embrace all workers, in all industries, in all countries through the world.

We aim to have a union broad enough to take in every worker, and narrow enough to exclude all who are not workers. [43] We aim to build up a nation of workers that will have no boundary lines or limits except those of the world's industries themselves. We intend to wipe out class lines by doing away with classes. We propose to inaugurate a system of society where the workers will get the value of what they produce for themselves.

No Nationality or Color Lines.

This statement necessarily brings us to another phase of the I. W. W. movement, which will show that we are international in scope and recognize but one nation, the nation of those who work.

The Industrial Workers of the World is an INTERNATIONAL movement; not merely an American movement. We are "patriotic" for our class, the working class. We realize that as workers we have no country. The flags and symbols that once meant great things to us have been seized by our employers. Today they mean naught to us but oppression and tyranny. As long as we quarrel among ourselves over differences of nationality we weaken our cause, we defeat our own purpose. The practice of some craft unions is to bar men because of nationality or race. Not so with the I. W. W. Our union is open to all workers. Differences of color and language are not obstacles to us. In our organization,

the Caucasian, the Malay, the Mongolian, and the Negro, are all on the same footing. All are workers and as such their interests are the same. An injury to them is an injury to us.

An example of the way nationality bars are thrown down in the I. W. W. was shown in the great Lawrence strike. Here 27 different nationalities speaking over 47 different [44] tongues, brought up under different customs and conditions, united in one great cause. All differences were forgotten. They had one common enemy, the woolen trust. They centered all their forces on that enemy. Turks and Italians fought side by side against their common enemy, although their respective countries were at war at the time. For nine long weeks, in the dead of winter, the workers, under the banner of the I. W. W. showed what solidarity could accomplish. Fifteen million dollars a year was the increase in wages that the textile workers received as a result of their fight. More than that, however, was the knowledge they gained of their own power.

No longer will the slaves in Lawrence be docile as in the past. No longer will they submit to unspeakable brutalities such as were their portion before the strike. They have gained a knowledge of organization together with the cardinal principle of solidarity, that is priceless.

Such a strike as the Lawrence strike could only be made possible by long and continued agitation. Such agitation was carried on for years by the I. W. W. in Lawrence. Such agitation is being carried on by the

I. W. W. throughout the world. One day this agitation is going to bear fruit.

Low Fees and Dues—Universal Transfer.

Not only do we differ from the craft unions on the admission to membership of so-called aliens, but we also differ in the matter of initiation fees and dues. The tendency in the craft union is to keep all workers out of the organization after a certain stage is reached. Initiation fees as high as \$300 are charged for admission to some craft unions; \$75 and \$50 initiation fees are common among craft unions in the building trades. High dues are also common. The I. W. W. low dues are always the rule, low initiation fees likewise. [45] We want an open union, and then we will have a closed shop. The initiation fee in the I. W. W. can never be over \$5.00, and in most cases it is 50 cents to \$1.00. Dues are almost uniformly 50 cents per month, and never can be over \$1.00 per month. Every inducement to join that can be offered to the worker, is offered by the I. W. W.

Another feature of the I. W. W. is the universal transfer of cards. We recognize the card of any labor organization in the world in lieu of an initiation fee. A member of the Industrial Workers of the World can transfer from one industrial union to another of the same or of a different industry, without cost. One union, one card. Once a union man, always a union man.

POWER OF THE I. W. W.

Now, a few words as to where we are organized. A few years ago the I. W. W. was unknown. It consisted of a few small groups of propagandists who

were working day and night to spread the message of industrial unionism. Today our agitation is bearing fruit. Today we are not only a propaganda power, but we are the important factor in the labor movement in the United States.

Today a strike of 1,000 industrial unionists will attract more attention than a strike of 20,000 craft unionists. Why? Because the powers that be recognize in the I. W. W. a power that is one day going to overcome their power. Today the I. W. W. has almost complete sway over the textile industry. The lumber barons are also beginning to feel its power. On the high seas (and on the shores) we have organized the National Industrial Union of Marine Transportation Workers, with strong organizations on the Atlantic seaboard. In nearly every State we have locals that are recruiting more and more workers to [46] our banner. We have had more successful strikes in the past year than the American Federation of Labor with its 27,000 different local unions.

In South Africa the great street-car strike at Johannesburg, two years ago, was conducted by the I. W. W. In New Zealand and Australia we have national administrations paying a nominal per capita into the General Organization. In Alaska and Hawaii local unions are springing up. In Europe the syndicalist movement looks to the I. W. W. for new tactics and methods of organization.

Organizing a New Social System.

The I. W. W. is fast approaching the stage where it can accomplish its mission. This mission is revolutionary in character.

The Preamble of the I. W. W. Constitution says in part: "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." That is the crux of the I. W. W. position. We are not satisfied with a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. Such a thing is impossible. Labor produces all wealth. Labor is therefore entitled to all wealth. We are going to do away with capitalism by taking possession of the land and the machinery of production. We don't intend to buy them, either. The capitalist class took them because it had the power to control the muscle and brain of the working class in industry. Organized, we, the working class, will have the power. With that power we will take back that which has been stolen from us. We will demand more and more wages from our employers. We will demand and enforce shorter and shorter hours. As we gain these demands we are diminishing the profits of the boss. We are taking away his power. We are gaining that power for ourselves. All the [47] time we become more disciplined. We become self-reliant. We realize that without our labor power no wealth can be produced. We fold our arms. The mills close. Industry is at a standstill. We then make our proposition to our former masters. It is this: We, the workers, have labored long enough to support idlers. From now on, he who does not toil, neither shall he eat. We tear down to build up.

In the place of the present system of society where crime, prostitution and poverty are rampant, a new society will arise. No more prostitutes. Girls will

no longer sell their bodies when they can get for themselves the full product of their labor. Crime will disappear as the incentive for it is taken away. Poverty cannot exist where all are workers and none are shirkers. Children instead of working in the mills will be in the schools. Mothers will no longer dread the ordeal of motherhood, from economic reasons. We will grow, physically, intellectually and morally. A new race will result, a race that will live for the joy of living, a race that will look with horror upon the pages of history that tell of our present day society.

The Industrial Workers of the World are laying the foundation of a new government. This government will have for its legislative halls the mills, the workshops and factories. Its legislators will be the men in the mills, shops and factories. Its legislative enactments will be those pertaining to the welfare of the workers.

These things are to be. No force can stop them. Armies will be of no avail. Capitalist governments may issue their mandates in vain. The power of the workers—industrially organized—is the only power on earth worth considering—once they realize that power. Classes will disappear, and in their [48] place will be only useful members of society—the workers.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM OF THE I. W. W.

By B. H. Williams.

Editorial in "Solidarity," June 7, 1913.

The charge is now being made and repeated constantly by the enemies of the Industrial Workers of the World, that our organization is committed "exclusively to a program of violent destruction"; that "the I. W. W. would destroy society and industry, leaving nothing but chaos in their place." With much eagerness and flourish a large part of the labor press is repeating this nonsense, until no doubt many sincere workers are misled by it, which is, of course, the intention of the enemy. In order to offset this, and supply our own active members with material with which to educate outside workers, "Solidarity" hopes from time to time, to deal in detail with the structural forms of the "One Big Union." Our readers should understand that it is not the alleged "Noisy talk" of the I. W. W. agitator that is so much feared by the capitalist master, as it is the attempt by the I. W. W. to BUILD CONCRETELY THE WONDERFUL STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY, that shall replace the rule of the masters by the organized control of industry and society by the working class.

A brief outline of the structure of the I. W. W. is here given for the benefit of those who can be induced to enter more into detail with regard to their own particular industry and to apply that knowledge in their propaganda among their fellow workers: [49]

Local Industrial Union.

(1) The fundamental unit of I. W. W. organization, as provided for in our constitution, is the LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION, "branched according to the requirements of the particular industry." The I. W. W. takes account of the evolution of modern industry, from the era of small shops with distinct tools or implements of labor around which were grouped equally distinct craftsmen. For example, the word "blacksmith" or "weaver" at once suggests the mental picture of the man at the forge with hammer and anvil at hand; or the picture of the man or woman at the loom. The idea of the particular TOOL USED by the workers stands out in bold relief when the trade is thus named. The craft form of union followed logically from that method of production. But when we say "metal and machinery worker" or "textile worker" the concept is different, the tool is lost sight of, and in its place the PRODUCT comes to mind—a printing press; or cotton, woolen or silk cloth. There are many subdivisions or specialized groups of "Metal and machinery workers" as there are of "textile workers" co-operating together in turning out the given product. As a consequence, a metal and machinery shop, or a textile mill, can no longer be properly organized on a craft basis, according to the tools used by the workers.

Recognizing the fundamental changes due to industrial evolution, the I. W. W. provides for the organization of all workers in a given metal and machinery shop or a textile mill, into ONE SHOP

BRANCH—with regular branch officers, shop committees and general shop meetings or referendum, to deal with questions pertaining to their shop interests alone. In this way, we get directly at the boss or shop owner, at the closest [50] possible range.

But there may be many shops of the same kind in the same locality. Most matters do not concern a single shop only; for example, an eight-hour day, or an increase in wages is a matter that cannot well be settled by a single shop organization. Hence the shop branches must be grouped in such a way that all the workers in a given locality, or in all localities can act as a unit against their employers and for all the workers at once. So for the purpose of local unity of a given industry, all the shop branches are bound together in a LOCAL INDUSTRIAL UNION, for instance, of “metal and machinery workers” or of “textile workers.” This local industrial union functions through a central committee or council composed of delegates from each of the shop branches, having all necessary officers to transact affairs of general concern, to maintain communication between the branches and larger subdivisions of the same industrial union, and so on. All detail work except important matters that require attention of the entire local membership, is attended to by the central committee or council. Such important matters are referred to a general meeting or a general referendum of the local membership. In this way, by the I. W. W. plan of organization, every possible detail is provided for.

Industrial District Council.

(2) Just as the local industrial union is the unit of I. W. W. organization, so GENERAL LOCAL UNITY is of prime importance in the development of the organization. Without strong, healthy and vitalized local organization, a general weakness is inevitable all along the line. The I. W. W. cannot properly function from the top down; it must function [51] FROM THE BOTTOM UP. Consequently, the I. W. W. provides for the very important formation known as the INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT COUNCIL, whose function it is to secure and maintain local unity and solidarity of all industrial groups. The district council is composed of representatives from each and all of the local industrial unions of a given locality. In case of a strike in a given industry, the council becomes a most effective instrument for calling into action all the workers of the locality to aid their struggling brothers. Raising funds, carrying out propaganda and organization, calling out workers in other industries, are some of the possible means by which the industrial district council may function as a quick and effective means of promoting local solidarity.

National Industrial Union.

(3) But local unity is not sufficient, the local industrial union and the district council are not complete in themselves. An eight hour day or demand for a general advance in wages may originate as a local movement, but in order to be successful against a MANUFACTURERS' ASSOCIATION or in face of the advantage that one competing capitalist

will naturally take of another such a movement must involve the entire industry. For instance, the Paterson textile workers (1913) demanded an eight-hour day and succeeded in completely tying up the silk shops of that city. Immediately the bosses shouted that they could not "compete with the mill owners of Pennsylvania, New York, and other sections of New Jersey." Thereupon the I. W. W. took them at their word, and proceeded to call out about 20,000 more strikers in the sections named, practically paralyzing the entire silk goods industry. The strikers of Hudson county, New Jersey, were offered their demands and requested to return [52] to work. They refused, "until such time as the Paterson strikers should be granted the eight-hour day and other concessions."

Thus the I. W. W. plan of organization has provided the NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL UNION for the purpose of bringing together all local industrial unions of a given industry into one national body. All the textile workers of the nation are to be united in one national industrial union. To transact its affairs, maintain unity of action and intercommunication between locals, etc., the national industrial union elects national officers and a national executive board, holds national conventions and deals with national matters through the referendum.

Through this form of organization, the textile workers, for example, will tend more and more to assume control of that industry, and to regard it as their particular RESPONSIBILITY in relation to the industrial society as a whole. Hence the basis

of that claim by capitalist writers (and given a foundation by the assertions of some "half-baked" "syndicalists") that the I. W. W. proposes to "have the miners own and control the mining industry; the textile workers own and control the textile industry," etc. This is not true, as will appear later. Suffice it to say here, that the national industrial union is provided for by the I. W. W. constitution to enable the workers in a given industry to maintain, in detail, the national unity and solidarity of that industry. This form of organization is seen to be essential both for purposes of defense and aggression against the capitalist enemy, and for shaping an essential part of the structure of the new society [53] which it is seeking to form within the shell of capitalism.

Department of Industries.

(4) Following the same "industrial lead" through the "vein" of modern capitalist industry, we find that a still larger grouping—of closely allied industries—is necessary. That is provided for under the name DEPARTMENT. In dealing with "departments" we cannot speak with the same assurance as with regard to the other subdivisions of the organization. Owing to the close inter-relation of "allied industries," the departmental lines are not clearly defined. Nevertheless, the I. W. W. constitution provides tentatively, for the following departmental structure:

1. The Department of Agriculture, Land, Fisheries and Water Products.
2. Department of Mining.

3. Department of Transportation and Communication.

4. Department of Manufacture and General Production.

5. Department of Construction.

6. Department of Public Service.

Each of these six departments will embrace all the national industrial unions of closely allied industries in the respective department to which they may properly belong. Under this classification, as at present conceived, the national industrial union of textile workers would be included in the Department of Manufacture and General production. A national industrial union of "Municipal Workers," having charge of the lighting, heating, paving, watering and otherwise administering cities, would belong to the Department of Public Service. But, as suggested above, the question of departmental grouping will have to be gone into more thoroughly, as the constructive [54] work of organization proceeds. The concept of "departments" only brings out more clearly the inter-relation of one industry to another, and provides for the closer unity of allied industries.

General Organization—Union of the Working Class.

(5) On this question of "closer unity" the I. W. W. constitution goes even farther. It proceeds on the understanding that wealth production is today a SOCIAL PROCESS, in which the entire working class co-operates to feed, clothe, shelter and provide the entire population of the world with the accessories of civilization. No single group of workers

stands alone; no single industry is sufficient to itself; no group of industries can operate independently of other groups. For instance, the textile workers would be unable to "clothe the nation" if other groups of workers did not supply them with food, build machinery for the mills, raise cotton, wool and flax as "raw material"; transport products to and from the textile factories, etc. At bottom, all the working class co-operates with or aids directly or indirectly any group of workers in performing its function.

Consequently, just as the local industrial union binds together the branches; the national industrial union the locals, and the departments the national industrial unions—so the departments, whether more or less than six in number when this form of grouping is worked out, will be brought together in ONE GENERAL UNION OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS, whose functioning will bind together all workers of all industries into one co-operative commonwealth.

This form of organization precludes the idea of the workers in one industry "owning and operating that industry [55] for themselves." That proposal is found to be impossible of realization in view of the social character of production. The GENERAL ORGANIZATION of the I. W. W. is for the purpose of securing and maintaining the co-operation of all industrial groups for the work of social production for the use and benefit of all the people. The general organization has also another purpose at the present time—that of binding all the workers

of the organization together for common defense and aggression against the master class. Its present success along this line brings forth the cry that the "I. W. W. is trying to destroy society."

Through this form of organization thus briefly sketched, the I. W. W. is seen to have a constructive program, supplementing its destructive tactics against the capitalist enemy, that is invincible. And it is this **CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAM** that alarms the masters and their retainers more than all the "loud talk" which they attribute to I. W. W. agitators. This program should be debated, studied and understood by all I. W. W. members first of all. Moreover it should form a part at least of every soap-boxer's speech. Without it, the "tactics" of the I. W. W. are of as little value as geometrical figures without material substances through which to express their meaning. Tactics are inseparable from organization. Therefore let us study and work to build the organization that, while striking capitalism its death blow, is at the same time preparing to put in the place of capitalism a new and better society.

[56]

HOW SCABS ARE BRED.

By Grover H. Perry.

Craft unionism is the chief factor in creating scabs and the greatest stumbling block in the path of the laborer who wishes to improve his or her condition. The apprentice system is responsible for more strike breakers than any other known cause.

A man goes to work, we will say, in a shop where general building is carried on. He works in the

roofing and sheet metal department, which is thoroughly organized (?) in the A. S. M. W. I. A., which is the tanners and roofers craft union. It's perhaps the first time that he has ever had the opportunity to work in a union shop and he is enthused with the idea that at last *he* can become a union man, and, as such, be able not only to better his own conditions, but to help better the conditions of his fellow workers.

His first rebuff comes when he inquires of his fellow workers as to the steps necessary to become a member of the union. He is told that he is not wanted, and that before he can become a member he must have credentials showing that he has worked three years as an apprentice. Somewhat subdued, he inquires then as to how to become an apprentice. He is told that the number of apprentices is limited (one to every three journeymen), and that the shop has full quota of apprentices at the present time.

All this time the journeymen are working eight hours per day and receive \$3.25 for that work, while he is working nine or ten hours a day and taking whatever the boss sees fit to hand him. He sees that the union does not concern itself as to whether he gets paid for overtime or not. He sees that [57] to all intents and purposes the union does not recognize his existence. All this time the idea is growing within him that the union is not organized for the benefit of the workers as a class, but for the benefit of those fortunate persons who are already members.

During the day's work he chances to pick up one

of the tools that the journeymen use while at work and is instantly commanded by a surly journeyman, who occupies the position of shop steward, to lay down that tool, and in the future to remember to obey the rules of the union (of which he is denied membership) in regard to laborers and helpers handling tools. These rules are printed on cards and hung in prominent places in the shop.

He is given to understand that he is a social inferior and that he should not expect the same privileges that journeymen enjoy. He must not touch the hammer (except on stated occasions, such as nailing drip), the snips or shears, soldering irons or any of the various tools that a man must become accustomed to before he can hope to acquire the faintest rudiments of the trade.

He is graciously permitted to carry slate, build scaffolds and paint tinwork and all other dirty work that may be required. He is supposed to be at the beck and call of the journeymen at all times and to be, in general, a good, faithful animal. If he dares to question the wisdom of the union in granting him these many benefits, the good union journeymen (who are afraid that he might learn to do the work that they are now doing) can and do make life miserable for him. He is told to hold a joint of pipe in place, so that the journeymen may fit it, and with his arms stretched at full length above [58] his head (which, by the way, is the most tiresome work in the world) he waits the journeyman's pleasure, while the journeyman talks over the latest prizefight news with one of his comrades.

The boss has had his eyes open all this time and if, in his judgment, the man will make a good workman he approaches him with a proposition to buy a share of stock in the company, which will give him the right to work at the work that the journeyman works at and to use the same tools, and thereby learn the trade.

For be it remembered that this same craft unionism which has so low an opinion of its helpers, and such utter disregard of their welfare, has at the same time such a high opinion of the boss and such deep concern for the interests of the stockholders that if anyone buys a share of stock in the concern that exploits them, he is permitted to work at anything all hours and for any wages. The man, by this time, thoroughly disgusted with the union, consents, and he begins to think that the employer has given him a squarer deal than the union. In a short period of time he begins to degenerate into one of those atavistic workingmen who think that their interest is wrapped up with that of their employer.

It may happen that the employer does not make this proposal and that the union, in the course of time, declares a strike. Then, and with some justice, the man reasons thus: "This union did not recognize me and did everything in its power to keep me from bettering my conditions. Now is my opportunity. I will take the place of one of these men and learn what I can of this trade and be in a better condition to wage the struggle of existence in the future." The reasoning lacks logic, but is perfectly natural under the circumstances. [59]

Thus scabs are bred.

These are the actual conditions that laborers work under.

Here are some of the rules of Local 266, A. S. M. W. I. A., New Castle, Pa.

Rule 7. Each shop shall be allowed one apprentice, but no two apprentices shall be allowed unless four or more journeymen are employed therein.

Rule 8. Apprentices going to work in a shop shall work two years for said boss, or cannot take another job until their two years are up.

Rule 10. Apprentices shall serve three years before they can become journeymen.

Rule 12. Helpers are allowed to paint, nail drip, put up circles and do other work not conflicting with the rules of this local.

These rules are typical, not only of this organization, but of all craft unions. Get wise and join a union that will protect every workingman whether he be a laborer or mechanic. In other words, join the I. W. W. [60]

(Cover of Pamphlet:)

THE I. W. W.

Its History, Structure and Methods.

By Vincent St. John.

Price 10 Cents.

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau.

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Chicago, Ill.

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(Inside Cover:)

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THE I. W. W.

A Brief History.

In the fall of 1904 six active workers in the revolutionary labor movement held a conference. After exchanging views and discussing the conditions then confronting the workers of the United States, they decided to issue a call for a larger gathering.

These six workers were Isaac Cowen, American representative of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain, Clarence Smith, general secretary-treasurer of the [61] American Labor Union, Thomas J. Hagerty, editor of the "Voice of Labor," official organ of the A. L. U., George Estes, president of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employes, W. L. Hall, general secretary-treasurer U. B. R. E., and Wm. E. Trautmann, editor of the "Brauer Zeitung," the official organ of the United Brewery Workers of America.

Invitations were then sent out to thirty-six additional individuals who were active in radical labor organizations and the socialist political movement of the United States, inviting them to meet in secret conference in Chicago, Illinois, January 2, 1905.

Of the thirty-six who received invitations, but two

declined to attend the proposed conference—Max S. Hayes and Victor Berger—both of whom were in editorial charge of socialist political party and trade union organs.

The conference met at the appointed time with thirty present, and drew up the Industrial Union Manifesto calling for a convention to be held in Chicago, June 27, 1905, for the purpose of launching an organization in accord with the principles set forth in the Manifesto.

The work of circulating the Manifesto was handled by an executive committee of the conference, the American Labor Union and the Western Federation of Miners.

The Manifesto was widely circulated in several languages.

On the date set the convention assembled with 186 delegates present from 34 State, district, national and local organizations representing about 90,000 members.

All who were present as delegates were not there in good faith. Knowledge of this fact caused the signers of the [62] Manifesto to constitute themselves a temporary committee on credentials.

This temporary credentials committee ruled that representation for organizations would be based upon the number of members in their respective organizations only where such delegates were empowered by their organizations to install said organizations as integral parts of the Industrial Union when formed. Where not so empowered delegated would only be allowed one vote.

One of the delegations present was from the Illinois State District of the United Mine Workers of America. The membership of that district at that time was in the neighborhood of 50,000. Under the above rule these delegates were seated with one vote each. This brings the number of members represented down to 40,000.

Several other organizations that had delegates present existed mainly on paper; so it is safe to say that 40,000 is a good estimate of the number of workers represented in the first convention.

The foregoing figures will show that the precautions adopted by the signers of the Manifesto were all that prevented the opponents of the industrial union from capturing the convention and blocking any effort to start the organization. It is a fact that many of those who were present as delegates on the floor of the first convention and the organizations that they represented have bitterly fought the I. W. W. from the close of the first convention up to the present day.

The organizations that installed as a part of the new organization were: Western Federation of Miners, 27,000 [63] members; Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance,* 1,450 members; Punch Press Operators, 168 members; United Metal Workers,* 3,000 members; Longshoremen's Union, 400 members; the American Labor Union,* 16,500 members; United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, 2087 members.

The convention lasted twelve days; adopted a con-

*Existed almost wholly on paper.

stitution with the following preamble, and elected officers:

ORIGINAL I. W. W. PREAMBLE

“The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

“Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

“The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in [64] such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.”

All kinds and shades of theories and programs were represented among the delegates and individuals present at the first convention. The principal ones in evidence, however, were four: Parliamentary socialists—two types—impossibilist and opportunist, Marxian and reformist; anarchist; industrial unionist; and the labor union fakir. The task of combining these conflicting elements was attempted by the convention. A knowledge of this task makes it easier to understand the seeming contradictions in the original Preamble.

The first year of the organization was one of internal struggle for control by these different elements. The two camps of socialist politicians looked upon the I. W. W. only as a battleground upon which to settle their respective merits and demerits. The labor fakers strove to fasten themselves upon the organization that they might continue to exist if the new union was a success. The anarchist element did not interfere to any great extent in the internal affairs. Only one instance is known to the writer; that of New York City where they were in alliance with one set of politicians, for the purpose of controlling the district council.

In spite of these and other obstacles the new organization made some progress; fought a few successful battles with the employing class, and started publishing a monthly organ, "The Industrial Worker." The I. W. W. also issued the first call for the defense of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone under the title, "Shall Our Brothers Be Murdered?"; formed the defense [65] league; and it is due to the interest

awakened by the I. W. W. that other organizations were enlisted in the fight to save the lives of the officials of the W. F. M. which finally resulted in their liberation. Thus the efforts of the W. F. M. in starting the I. W. W. were repaid.*

SECOND CONVENTION.

The Second convention met in September, 1906, with 93 delegates representing about 60,000 members.

This convention demonstrated that the administration of the I. W. W. was in the hands of men who were not in accord with the revolutionary program of the organization. Of the general officers only two were sincere—the General Secretary, W. E. Trautmann, and one member of the Executive Board, John Riordan.

The struggle for control of the organization formed the Second convention into two camps. The majority vote of the convention was in the revolutionary camp. The reactionary camp having the chairman used obstructive tactics in their effort to gain control of the convention. They hoped thereby to delay the convention until enough delegates would be forced to return home and thus change the control of the convention. The revolutionists cut this knot by abolishing the office of President and electing a chairman from among the revolutionists.

*Berger in the "Social Democratic Herald" of Milwaukee denied that the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone case was a part of the class struggle. It was but a "border feud," said he. [66]

In this struggle the two contending sets of socialist politicians lined up in opposite camps.

The Second convention amended the Preamble by adding the following clause:

“Therefore without endorsing or describing the endorsement of any political party.”

A new executive board was elected. On the adjournment of the convention the old officials seized the general headquarters, and with the aid of detectives and police held the same, compelling the revolutionists to open up new offices. This they were enabled to do in spite of the fact that they were without access to the funds of the organization, and had to depend on getting finances from the locals.

The W. F. M. officials supported the old officials of the I. W. W. for a time financially and with the influence of their official organ. The same is true of the Socialist Party, press and administration. The radical element in the W. F. M. were finally able to force the officials to withdraw that support. The old officials of the I. W. W. then gave up all pretence of having an organization.

The organization entered its second year facing a more severe struggle than in its first year. It succeeded, however, in establishing the general headquarters again, and in issuing a weekly publication in place of the monthly, seized by the old officials.

During the second year some hard struggles for better conditions were waged by the members.

The Third convention of the I. W. W. was uneventful. But it was at this convention that it became evident that the socialist politicians who had re-

mained with the organization were trying to bend the I. W. W. to their purpose; and a slight effort was made to relegate the politician to the rear.

The Fourth convention resulted in a rupture between the politicians and industrial unionists because the former [67] were not allowed to control the organization.

The Preamble was amended as follows:

I. W. W. PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work

whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work, we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to [68] do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with the capitalist, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The politicians attempted to set up another organization, claiming to be the real industrial movement. It is nothing but a duplicate of their political party and never functions as a labor organization. It is committed to a program of the "civilized plane," i. e., parliamentarism. Its publications are the official organs of a political sect that never misses an opportunity to assail the revolutionary workers while they are engaged in combat with some division of the ruling class. Their favorite method is to charge the revolutionists with all the crimes that a cowardly imagination can conjure into being. "Dynamiters, assassins, thugs, murderers, thieves," etc., are stock phrases.

Following the victory of the Lawrence Textile workers the S. L. P. politicians renewed their efforts to pose as the I. W. W.

By representing that they were the I. W. W. and THE ONLY I. W. W. they were enabled to deceive several thousand textile workers in Patterson, Passaic, Hackensack, Stirling, Summit, Hoboken, Newark, New Jersey, and Astoria, Long Island, and collect from them initiation fees and dues.

In every instance these political fakers betrayed the workers into the hands of the mill owners, and the efforts of the workers to better their conditions resulted in defeat. At Paterson and Passaic the S. L. P. entered into an alliance [69] with the police to prevent the organizers of the I. W. W. from exposing them to the workers.

Their own actions, however, resulted in exposing them to the workers in their true colors and today they are thoroughly discredited with the workers throughout that district.

For a time the other wing of the political movement contented itself with spreading its venom in secret. Since the conclusion of the Lawrence strike the publications of the Socialist Party (with a very few exceptions), have never failed to use their columns to misrepresent and slander the organization and its active membership. Their attacks have extended to members of their own party who happened to be active members or supporters of the I. W. W.

STRUCTURE OF THE I. W. W.

Basing its conclusions upon the experience of the past the I. W. W. holds that it is essential to have the form and structure of the organization conform to the development of the machinery of production and the process of concentration going on in industry

in order to facilitate the growth of solidarity on class lines among the workers. Unless the structure of the organization keeps step with the development of industry it will be impossible to secure the solidarity so necessary to success in the struggles with the employing class.

Out of date forms of organization with their corresponding obsolete methods and rules will have to be broken down. To do this in time of a struggle means confusion and chaos that result in defeat.

The I. W. W. holds, that, regardless of the bravery and spirit the workers may show, if they are compelled to fight with old methods and an out of date form of organization against [70] the modern organization of the employing class, there can be but one outcome to any struggle waged under these conditions—defeat.

The I. W. W. recognizes the need of working class solidarity. To achieve this it proposes the recognition of the Class Struggle as the basic principle of the organization, and declares its purpose to be the fighting of that struggle until the working class is in control of the administration of industry.

In its basic principle the I. W. W. calls forth that spirit of revolt and resistance that is so necessary a part of the equipment of any organization of the workers in their struggle for economic independence. In a word, its basic principle makes the I. W. W. a fighting organization. It commits the union to an unceasing struggle against the private ownership and control of industry.

There is but one bargain that the I. W. W. will make with the employing class—COMPLETE SURRENDER OF ALL CONTROL OF INDUSTRY TO THE ORGANIZED WORKERS.

The experience of the past has proven the mass form of organization, such as that of the Knights of Labor, to be as powerless and unwieldy as a mob.

The craft form of union, with its principle of trade autonomy, and harmony of interest with the boss, has also been proven a failure. It has not furnished an effective weapon to the working class. True, it has been able to get for the skilled mechanics improved conditions; but due to the narrow structure of the craft organization, class interest has long since been lost sight of, and craft interest alone governs the actions of its membership. In the last analysis the craft union [71] has only been able to get advantages for its membership at the expense of the great mass of the working class, by entering into a contract with the employing class to stand aloof from the balance of the working class in its struggles. They have become allies of the employers to keep in subjection the vast majority of the workers. The I. W. W. denies that the craft union movement is a labor movement. We deny that it can or will become a labor movement.

To-day in the United States in all of the basic (large) industries, whenever any portion of the workers strive for better conditions, they enter into a conflict with the employing class as a whole. The expense of a strike is borne by the organized employers who have reached the point that, regardless

of what competition may still remain, they unite to keep the workers in subjection, because of the common interest all have in securing cheap labor power.

To meet this condition the Industrial Workers of the World proposes:

GENERAL OUTLINE.

1. The Unit of organization is the INDUSTRIAL UNION, "branched" according to the requirements of the particular industry. In some instances the Industrial Union may embrace all the workers of a given industry, while in other industries several Industrial Unions with distinct jurisdiction may be necessary to cover the situation; as, for instance, in the "Industry of Marine Transportation"—one union on the Great Lakes, one on the Atlantic and Gulf Seaboard, one on the Pacific Coast, one on the Mississippi River system—each being branched to meet the special requirements of the particular situation. [72]

2. Industrial Unions of closely allied industries are combined into departmental organizations. For example, the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Unions referred to above would be united with Railway or Steam Transportation Industrial Unions, Municipal Transportation Industrial Unions, Motor Truck Transporters, and Aviators' Unions, into the "Department of Transportation and Communication."

3. The Industrial Departments are combined into the General Organization, which in turn is to be an integral part of a like International Organization; and through the international organization estab-

lish solidarity and co-operation between the workers of all countries.

COMPONENT PARTS OF THE ORGANIZATION.

Taking into consideration the technical differences that exist within the different departments of the industries and conditions existing where large numbers of workers are employed, the Industrial Union is "branched" wherever necessary. If the union includes ALL the workers in a given industry or a distinct jurisdiction within an industry. "Industrial Branches" of the Union are established in the centers most convenient for the workers.

These Industrial Branches are further subdivided into—

1. Shop sections, so that the workers of each shop control the conditions that directly affect them.
2. Language sections, so that the workers can conduct the affairs of the organization in the language with which they are most familiar.
3. In those large industries which are operated by departments, DEPARTMENT subdivisions are formed to systematize and simplify the business of the organization. [73]
4. When an industry covers a large local area, or is the principal industry of a city, DISTRICT subdivisions are formed, to enable the workers to attend union meetings without traveling too great a distance.
5. In order that every given industrial district shall have complete industrial solidarity among the workers in all industries as well as among the work-

ers of each industry, an INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT COUNCIL is formed by delegates elected from all the Industrial Unions and Industrial Branches operating in that district and through this Council concerted action is maintained throughout the district.

FUNCTIONS OF THE LOCAL SECTIONS AND SUBDIVISIONS.

Shop and language sections, and department and district subdivisions deal with the employer ONLY through the Industrial Branch or the Industrial Union. Thus, while the workers in each section determine the conditions that directly affect them, they act in concert with all the workers of the industry through the Industrial Branch and the Union.

As the knowledge of the English language becomes more general, the language branches will disappear.

The development of machine production will also gradually eliminate the branches based on technical knowledge, or skill.

The constant development and concentration of the ownership and control of industry will be met by a like concentration of the number of Industrial Unions and Industrial Departments. It is meant that the organization at all times shall conform to the needs of the hour and eventually furnish the medium through which and by which the organized workers will be able to determine the amount of food, clothing, shelter, [74] education and amusement necessary to satisfy the wants of the workers.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE ORGANIZATIONS.

Industrial Unions have full charge of all their own affairs; elect their own officers; determine their pay; and also the amount of dues collected by the union from the membership. The general organization, however, does not allow any union to charge over \$1.00 per month dues or \$5.00 initiation fee.

Each Industrial Branch of an Industrial Union elects a delegate or delegates to the Executive Committee of the Industrial Union. This Executive Committee is the administrative body of the Industrial Union. Officers of the Industrial Branches consist of secretary, treasurer, chairman and trustees.

Officers of the Industrial Union consist of secretary and treasurer, chairman, and executive committee.

Each Industrial Union and Industrial Branch within a given district elects a delegate or delegates to the District Council. The District Council has as officers a secretary-treasurer and trustees. The officers of the district council are elected by the delegates thereof.

All officers in local bodies except those of district council are elected by ballot of all the membership involved.

Proportional representation does not prevail in the delegations of the branches and to district councils. Each branch and local has the same number of delegates. Each delegate casts one vote.

Industrial Unions hold annual conventions. Dele-

gates from each branch of the Union cast a vote based upon the membership of the Industrial Branch that they represent. [75]

The Industrial Union nominates the candidates for officers at the convention, and the three nominees receiving the highest votes at the convention are sent to all the membership to be voted upon in selecting the officers.

The officers of the Industrial Unions consist of secretary and treasurer, and executive committee. Each Industrial Union elects delegates to the Department to which it belongs. The same procedure is followed in electing delegates as in electing officers.

Industrial Departments hold conventions and nominate the delegates that are elected to the general convention. Delegates to the general convention nominate candidates for the officers of the general organization. These general officers are elected by the vote of the entire organization.

The General Executive Board is composed of one member from each Industrial Department and is selected by the membership of that department.

General conventions are held annually at present.

The rule in determining the wages of the officers of all parts of the organization is, to pay the officers who are needed approximately the same wages they would receive when employed in the industry in which they work.

I. W. W. TACTICS OR METHODS.

As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that would get the results sought with the least ex-

penditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to **make good** in their use. The question of "right" and "wrong" does not concern us.

No terms made with an employer are final. All peace [76] so long as the wage system lasts, is but an armed truce. At any favorable opportunity the struggle for more control of industry is renewed.

As the organization gains control in the industries, and the knowledge among the workers of their power, when properly applied within the industries, becomes more general, the long drawn out strike will become a relic of the past. A long drawn out strike implies insufficient organization or that the strike has occurred at a time when the employer can best afford a shut down—or both. Under all ordinary circumstances a strike that is not won in four to six weeks cannot be won by remaining out longer. In trustified industry the employer can better afford to fight one strike that lasts six months than he can six strikes that take place in that period.

No part of the organization is allowed to enter into time contracts with the employers. Where strikes are used, it aims to paralyze all branches of the industry involved, when the employers can least afford a cessation of work—during the busy season and when there are rush orders to be filled.

The Industrial Workers of the World maintains that nothing will be conceded by the employers except that which we have the power to take and hold by the strength of our organization. Therefore we seek no agreements with the employers.

Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and "sabotage" is used to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers.

The great progress made in machine production results in an ever increasing army of unemployed. To counteract this the Industrial Workers of the World aims to establish the shorter work day, and to slow up the working pace, thus compelling the employment of more and more workers. [77]

To facilitate the work of organization, large initiation fees and dues are prohibited by the I. W. W.*

During strikes the works are closely picketed and every effort made to keep the employers from getting workers into the shops. All supplies are cut off from strike-bound shops. All shipments are refused or missent, delayed and lost if possible. Strike breakers are also isolated to the full extent of the power of the organization. Interference by the government is resented by open violation of the government's orders, going to jail *en masse*, causing expense to the taxpayers—which is but another name for the employing class.

In short, the I. W. W. advocates the use of militant "direct action" tactics to the full extent of our power to make good.

EDUCATION.

At the present time the organization has fourteen

* Some of the craft unions charge from \$25.00 to \$250.00. One, the Green Bottle Blowers' Union, charges \$1,000. [78]

publications of its own, twelve weekly, and two bi-weekly, in the following languages: English, 3, and one each in French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, Polish, Slavish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Swedish and Jewish. A Spanish weekly and an Italian weekly are affiliated with the organization. One Russian weekly and an English monthly review are sympathetic, and a Finnish daily paper is consistently advocating the principles set forth in the preamble.

The general organization issues leaflets and pamphlets from time to time and aims to build up and extend educational literature in all languages as fast as the resources of the organization permit.

The Unions and their Industrial Branches hold educational meetings in halls and on the streets of the industrial centers. Reading rooms and halls are maintained by all the larger Branches. Revolutionary literature is kept on file.

Special shop meetings are held in efforts to organize certain industries.

STRUGGLES OF THE I. W. W.

In 1906 the eight-hour day was established for hotel and restaurant workers in Goldfield, Nevada.

In the same year sheet metal workers lost a strike at Youngstown, Ohio, due to the American Federation of Labor's filling the places of the strikers.

In 1907 textile workers of Skowhegan, Maine, 3,000 strong, struck over the discharge of active workers in the organization. The strike lasted four weeks and resulted in a complete victory for the strikers with improved conditions. John Golden,

president of the United Textile Workers, A. F. of L., attempted to break this strike by furnishing strike breakers.

In Portland, Oregon, 3,000 saw mill workers were involved in a strike for a nine-hour day and increase of wages from \$1.75 to \$2.50 per day. On account of the exceptional demand for labor of all kinds in that section at that time, most of the strikers secured employment elsewhere, and the strike played out at the end of about six weeks. The saw mill companies were seriously crippled for months, and were forced indirectly to raise wages and improve conditions of the employes. This strike gave much impetus to I. W. W. agitation in the western part of the United States.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, 1,200 tube mill workers [79] were involved. This strike was lost through the scabbing tactics of the A. F. of L.

In the same year 800 silk mill workers engaged in a strike at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This strike was lost on account of a shutdown due to the panic of 1907 that occurred shortly after the strike started.

From March 10, 1907, until April 22, the W. F. M. and the I. W. W. at Goldfield, Nevada, fought for their existence (and the conditions that they had established at that place) against the combined forces of the mine owners, business men and A. F. of L. This open fight was compromised as a result of the treachery of the W. F. M. general officers. The fight was waged intermittently from April 22 till September, 1907, and resulted in regaining all ground lost through the compromise, and in destroy-

ing the scab charter issued by the A. F. of L. during the fight. This fight cost the employers over \$100,000. The strike of the W. F. M. in October, 1907, took place during a panic and destroyed the organization's control in that district.

Under the I. W. W. sway in Goldfield, the minimum wage for all kinds of labor was \$4.50 per day and the eight-hour day was universal. The highest point of efficiency for any labor organization was reached by the I. W. W. and W. F. M. in Goldfield, Nevada. No committees were ever sent to any employers. The unions adopted wage scales and regulated hours. The secretary posted the same on a bulletin board outside of the union hall, and it was the LAW. The employers were forced to come and see the union's committees.

Beginning in July, 1909, at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, 8,000 workers of the Pressed Steel Car Company, embracing sixteen [80] different nationalities, waged the most important struggle that the I. W. W. took part in to that date. The strike lasted eleven weeks. As usual, the employers resorted to the use of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, known as the American Cossacks, to intimidate the strikers and browbeat them back to work. This constabulary is a picked body of armed thugs recruited for their ability to handle firearms. Every strike in Pennsylvania since the institution of the constabulary has been broken or crippled by them. Men, women and children have been killed and brutally maimed by them with impunity. Their advent upon the scene in McKees Rocks was marked

by the usual campaign of brutality. Finally one of the cossacks killed a striker. The strike committee then served notice upon the commander of the cossacks that for every striker killed or injured by the cossacks the life of a cossack would be exacted in return. And that they were not at all concerned as to which cossack paid the penalty, but that a life for a life would be exacted. The strikers kept their word. On the next assault by the cossacks, several of the constabulary were killed and a number wounded. The cossacks were driven from the streets and into the plants of the company. An equal number of strikers were killed and about fifty wounded in the battle. This ended the killing on both sides during the remainder of the strike. For the first time in their existence the cossacks were "tamed." The McKees Rocks strike resulted in a complete victory for the strikers.

On November 2, 1909, the city government at Spokane, Washington, started to arrest the speakers of the I. W. W. for holding street meetings. The locals at that point decided to fight the city and force it to allow the organization to hold [81] street meetings. The fight lasted up to the first of March following, and resulted in compelling the city to pass a law allowing street speaking. Over 500 men and women went to jail during the free speech fight. Two hundred went on a hunger strike that lasted from 11 to 13 days, and then went from 30 to 45 days on bread and water; two ounces of bread per day. Four members lost their lives as a result of the treatment accorded them in this fight.

Many more free speech fights have occurred since the one in Spokane, the most notable being at Fresno, California. Here the authorities in cahoots with employers attempted to stop I. W. W. agitation, which was directed toward the organization of the thousands of unskilled workers in the San Joaquin Valley, the fruit belt of California. Street meetings were forbidden in Fresno. The I. W. W. again made use of "direct action" methods, and filled the jails of that city with arrested street speakers. The fight lasted four months, and over 100 members were in jail for from two to three months. Arrested members refused to hire lawyers, and plead their own cases in court, or used some member of the organization as their "attorney." Finally, the organization outside of Fresno took an energetic hold of the fight, and organized a movement to "invade California." In accordance with this plan, detachments of free speech fighters started to "march on Fresno" from Spokane, Portland, Denver, St. Louis and other sections. Whereupon the Fresno authorities decided that they had enough, and surrendered. Freedom of speech was completely re-established in Fresno, and the I. W. W. has never since been interfered with.

A four months' strike of shoe workers occurred in Brooklyn, New York, in the winter of 1911. This strike was [82] most stubbornly contested on both sides, and resulted in improved conditions for the workers in some of the shops.

SOME OF THE STRIKES OF 1912.*

Local Union No. 10, Electrical Supply Workers, Fremont, Ohio. One strike; 30 men involved. Lost; because of inability to extend the same they shut down the plant.

Local Unions 161 and 169, Textile and Shoe Workers, Haverhill, Mass. Two strikes involving 572 members. Lasted seven weeks altogether. Both strikes successful. Sixty members arrested and 15 of them convicted and sentenced to jail for one to four months.

Local Union 194, Clothing Workers, Seattle, Washington. Ten small strikes lasting from a few hours up to two months. All of the strikes successful except one. Fifteen arrested, one conviction, two members held in jail nine weeks for deportation finally released. Number of workers involved not specified.

Local Union 326, Railroad Construction Workers, Prince Rupert, B. C. Two strikes, both of which were successful; 2,350 workers involved; 12 members arrested, all of whom were convicted and sentenced from six months to three years. This local also as-

*Under this heading all the references to Local Unions and National Industrial Unions are based upon the terms used and the structure provided by the constitution prior to the 10th convention in 1916. The Industrial Workers of the World being as broad as industry and dealing with the workers in the industries rather than along mere local lines, the inconsistency of the words Local and National was cured by striking them out and thus removing any restrictions that may have been imposed upon our ideals by the use of such terms.—W. D. H. [83]

sisted in winning a strike for unorganized workers at the Shenna Crossing.

Local Union 327, Railroad Construction Workers, Lytton, B. C. One strike lasting seven months; 5,000 involved. 300 members arrested; 200 convicted and sentenced to from one to six months. This strike was called off by the local union owing to the failure to keep the line tied up. The contractors were forced, however, to improve wages and conditions.

National Industrial Union of Forest and Lumber Workers. Two strikes, involving seven local unions and 7,000 workers. One strike lasted two months and the other three weeks. No record of the number of members arrested, but there were several hundred. Three members were convicted and sentenced to from one to three months in jail. The strikes were partially successful in raising wages in the industry.

Extending the organization of the lumber workers in the southern lumber districts involves a contest with the employing class in a section of the country where the employers have held undisputed sway since the American continent was first settled.

Organizers are assaulted and killed by the armed thugs of the industrial lords. The will of the employing class is the law of the land.

July 7, 1912, a meeting held upon the public road at Grabow, Louisiana, was ambushed by the guards of the Galloway Lumber Company. Three men were killed and forty wounded. Following this attack, A. L. Emerson, the president of the southern district

organization, and sixty-four members were arrested and held for trial upon charges of conspiracy to commit murder. Emerson and nine of the members were tried and acquitted in spite of the efforts of the mill owners and lumber companies to railroad them to the penitentiary or gallows. All others were discharged from custody without trial.

Local Union 436, Lowell, Massachusetts, Textile Workers. [84] Two strikes, one of which resulted in victory and the other was lost; 18,000 involved. Number arrested in strikes 26, all of whom were convicted and sentenced to from one to six weeks in jail.

Local Union 557, Piano Workers, Boston, Massachusetts. One strike; 200 members involved. Strike lasted five weeks and was lost.

Local Union 20, Textile Workers, Lawrence, Massachusetts. Five strikes involving 29,000 workers; 333 arrested, 320 of whom were convicted and fined from \$100 down, and to one year in jail. Most of these cases, however, were settled for a nominal fine on appeal to the higher court. (For an account of the great Lawrence strike and of the Ettore-Giovanitti trial growing out of it, see "Trial of a New Society," by Justus Ebert).

Local Union 157, Textile Workers, New Bedford, Massachusetts. Lockout, 13,000 workers involved. Number of arrests not known.

In addition to the above there were other strikes of smaller size, but the locals and members involved in the same have not furnished the General Office

with any information, so we cannot include data concerning them.

An estimate of the amount of money expended for relief and other expenses incidental to handling strikes in the year (1912) shows that \$101,504.05 were expended in handling strikes involving a total of 75,152 strikers and their families, lasting over a period of 74 weeks in the aggregate. The number arrested during that period totaled 1,446; and there were 577 convictions. [85]

THE I. W. W. AT PRESENT.

The organization to date (Jan., 1917), consists of six Industrial Unions; Marine Transport Workers, Metal and Machinery Workers, Agricultural Workers, Iron Miners, Lumber Workers, and Railway Workers, having fifty branches and 200 unions in other industries, together with 100 recruiting unions directly united with the general organization.

The membership today consists very largely of unskilled workers. The bulk of the present membership is in the following industries: Textile, steel, lumber, mining, farming, railroad construction and marine transportation. The majority of the workers in these industries—except the textile—travel from place to place following the different seasons of work. They are therefore out of touch with the organization for months at a period. The paid-up membership of the organization at this time is 60,000. Due to the causes referred to above, this is all of the membership that keeps paid up on the books at all times. The general office, however, has

issued 300,000 cards, which is about the number of workers that are in the organization in good and bad tanding.

The general practice of exaggerating the membership of the organization is looked upon with disfavor in the I. W. W., as the organization aims to have the membership at all times look at all questions that affect their interests in their actual state. It is absolutely necessary that they do so if they are to be able to judge their strength and their ability to accomplish any proposed undertaking.

As will be seen, the organization in the past has had a continual struggle, not the least of which has been the internal strife engendered by conflicting elements whose activity [86] sprang from many different motives.

The future of the organization will be one of greater struggles. We would not have it otherwise. The internal strife will, no doubt, be present in the future as in the past. The employing class are fully aware that the most effective way of lessening the power of the revolutionary labor organization is to keep it busy with internal wrangles.

As the membership gain experience from actual contact with the problems of their class they will learn to know each other and the internal wrangles will disappear. Then this weapon in the hands of the employers will become useless, because the membership will refuse to be divided where their class interests are involved.

The future belongs to the I. W. W. The day of the skilled worker is passed. Machine production

has made the unskilled worker the main factor in industry. Under modern industrial conditions the workers can no longer act in small groups with any chance of success. They must organize and act as a class.

We are looking forward to the time when the organized proletariat will meet in their union the world over "and decide how long they will work, and how much of the wealth they produce they will give to the boss."

INDUSTRIAL UNION MANIFESTO.

Issued by Conference of Industrial Unionists at Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905.

Social relations and groupings only reflect mechanical and industrial conditions. The great facts of present industry are the displacement of human skill by machines and the increase [87] of capitalist power through concentration in the possession of the tools with which wealth is produced and distributed.

Because of these facts trade divisions among laborers and competition among capitalists are alike disappearing. Class divisions grow ever more fixed and class antagonisms more sharp. Trade lines have been swallowed up in a common servitude of all workers to the machines which they tend. New machines, ever replacing less productive ones, wipe out whole trades, and plunge new bodies of workers into the ever-growing army of tradeless, hopeless unemployed. As human beings and human skill are displaced by mechanical progress, the capitalists need use the workers only during that brief period when muscles and nerve respond most intensely. The

moment the laborer no longer yields the maximum of profits he is thrown upon the scrap pile, to starve alongside the discarded machine. A dead line has been drawn, and an age limit established, to cross which, in this world of monopolized opportunities, means condemnation to industrial death.

The worker, wholly separated from the land and the tools, with his skill of craftsmanship rendered useless, is sunk in the uniform mass of wage slaves. He sees his power of resistance broken by class divisions, perpetuated from outgrown industrial stages. His wages constantly grow less as his hours grow longer and monopolized prices grow higher. Shifted hither and thither by the demands of profit-takers, the laborer's home no longer exists. In this helpless condition, he is forced to accept whatever humiliating conditions his master may impose. He is submitted to a physical and intellectual examination more searching than was the chattle slave when sold from the auction block. Laborers are no longer classified [88] by difference in trade skill, but the employer assigns them according to the machines to which they are attached. These divisions, far from representing differences in skill or interests among the laborers, are imposed by the employer that workers may be pitted against one another and spurred to greater exertion in the shop, and that all resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.

While encouraging these outgrown divisions among the workers the capitalists carefully adjust themselves to the new conditions. They wipe out all

differences among themselves, and present a united front in their war upon labor. Through employers' associations, they seek to crush, with brutal force, by the injunctions of the judiciary, and the use of military power, all efforts at resistance. Or when the other policy seems more profitable, they conceal their daggers beneath the Civic Federation and hood-wink and betray those whom they would rule and exploit. Both methods depend for success upon the blindness and internal dissensions of the working class. The employers' line of battle and methods of warfare correspond to the solidarity of the mechanical and industrial concentration while laborers still form their fighting organizations on lines of long-gone trade divisions. The battles of the past emphasize this lesson. The textile workers of Lowell, Philadelphia and Fall River; the butchers of Chicago, weakened by the disintegrating effects of trade divisions; the machinists on the Santa Fe, unsupported by their fellow-workers subject to the same masters; the long-struggling miners of Colorado, hampered by lack of unity and solidarity upon the industrial battlefield, all bear witness to the helplessness and impotency of labor as at present organized. [89]

This worn-out and corrupt system offers no promise of improvement and adaptation. There is no silver lining to the clouds of darkness and despair settling down upon the world of labor.

This system offers only a perpetual struggle for slight relief from wage slavery. It is blind to the possibility of establishing an industrial democracy, wherein there shall be no wage slavery, but where

the workers will own the tools which they operate, and the product of which they alone should enjoy.

It shatters the ranks of the workers into fragments, rendering them helpless and impotent on the industrial battlefield.

Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible.

Union men scab upon union men; hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists.

Craft jealousy leads to the attempt to create trade monopolies.

Prohibitive initiation fees are established that force men to become scabs against their will. Men whom manliness or circumstances have driven from one trade are thereby fined when they seek to transfer membership to the union of a new craft.

Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory.

Craft unions may be and have been used to assist employers in the establishment of monopolies and the raising of prices. One set of workers are thus used to make harder the [90] conditions of life of another body of laborers.

Craft divisions hinder the growth of class consciousness of the workers, foster the idea of harmony of interests between employing exploiter and employed slave. They permit the association of the misleaders of the workers with the capitalists in the

Civic Federation, where plans are made for the perpetuation of capitalism, and the permanent enslavement of the workers through the wage system.

Previous efforts for the betterment of the working class have proven abortive because limited in scope and disconnected in action.

Universal economic evils afflicting the working class can be eradicated only by a universal working class movement. Such a movement of the working class is impossible while separate craft and wage agreements are made favoring the employer against other crafts in the same industry, and while energies are wasted in fruitless jurisdiction struggles which serve only to further the personal aggrandizement of union officials.

A movement to fulfill these conditions must consist of one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally.

It must be founded on the class struggle, and its general administration must be conducted in harmony with the recognition of the irrepressible conflict between the capitalist class and the working class.

It should be established as the economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

All power should rest in a collective membership.

[91]

Local, national and general administration, including union labels, buttons, badges, transfer cards,

initiation fees and per capita tax should be uniform throughout.

All members must hold membership in the local, national or international union covering the industry in which they are employed, but transfers of membership between unions, local, national or international, should be universal.

Workingmen bringing union cards from industrial unions in foreign countries should be freely admitted into the organization.

The general administration should issue a publication representing the entire union and its principles which should reach all members in every industry at regular intervals.

A central defense fund, to which all members contribute equally, should be established and maintained.

All workers, therefore, who agree with the principles herein set forth, will meet in convention at Chicago the 27th day of June, 1905, for the purpose of forming an economic organization of the working class along the lines marked out in this manifesto.

THE TREND TOWARD INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM.

By B. H. Williams.

(Written for the *American Journal of Sociology*).

“What kind of a world does the I. W. W. want?” Such, in substance, is the question asked of the writer by the editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Nothing would please me more than to attempt to draw a picture of that world; but space is too limited. I shall, therefore, indicate only some

[92] salient features of the I. W. W. forecast and program, which seem to me wholly in accord with scientific principles and facts, and therefore not to be successfully controverted.

In harmony with the theory and the established facts of evolution, the Industrial Workers of the World holds that the general tendency of the organism we call Society is progressive—that is, from lower or less finished forms and functions, to ever higher and more nearly finished forms and functions—approaching the infinity of perfection. In other words, Social Evolution differs in no essential respect from organic evolution.

Applying this evolutionary principle, we discover:

1. That this society which we call Capitalism is a more advanced form of the social organism than was any prior state. Its crowning achievement is the Age of Machinery, bringing into existence an enormous increase in wealth and in the capacity for producing the accessories of an ever-richer civilization; in short, transforming the face of Society in a manner undreamed of prior to its advent.

2. That the manner of producing the social wealth has evolved from an individual or small group form to an ever larger group form, embracing great industries and correlating these industries into what is approaching a world-system of production and exchange. In other words, machinery or the Machine Process has evolved Social Wealth Production, in which, generally speaking, all workers co-operate nationally and internationally in the creation and exchange of the accessories of civilization.

3. That the control or management of this system of production and exchange is not democratic, but autocratic—is in the hands of individuals or groups or capitalists, who claim absolute control over the product of labor as well as [93] absolute ownership of the natural resources and of the machinery of production. In brief, the system of ownership and control is in contradiction to the system of producing and exchanging wealth in accordance with the machine process.

4. That the contradiction aforementioned inevitably keeps alive and intensifies the class struggle between the owners or controllers, and the workers, in which struggle the latter seek (some consciously, some unconsciously) to remove the contradiction by eliminating autocratic, and substituting democratic, control as well as operation of the system of wealth production and distribution, and therefore of Society itself. To put it in another form: The most promising tendency that the I. W. W. discovers in modern society is that toward Industrial and Social Democracy.

This tendency, in our judgment, is the one that should be most emphasized, in the American thought both of the present and of the future. Its goal—the complete democratization of industry—means the freeing of the social organism from economic contradictions, whose social fruitage has been and is wars between nations, panics or industrial depressions, strikes, lockouts, riots, unemployment, long hours of toil, insufficient wages, excessive labor, prostitution, pauperism, many classes of crimes and

diseases, and other evidences of social malnutrition. It means a freer play of individuality, and the unfolding of a social initiative whose fecundity will make this old Mother Earth as near a paradise as can well be conceived of at present. And for all this and more, we shall still have to thank our old step-mother, Capitalism, for having made us rebels against her crudeness and barbarism. [94]

The I. W. W. wants the world for the workers, and none but workers in the world. "By organizing industrially, we (the workers) are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." [95]

(Cover of Book of Songs:)

I. W. W.

SONGS

TO FAN THE FLAMES OF
DISCONTENT

Industrial Workers of the World Label

* I *

W * W

UNIVERSAL

Joe Hill

Memorial Edition

Published by

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

U. S. A.

[Reverse Side:]

THE PREAMBLE

Of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's

wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

[Title Page:]

SONGS
OF THE WORKERS
ON THE ROAD
IN THE JUNGLES AND
IN THE SHOPS

Tenth Edition.

Chicago

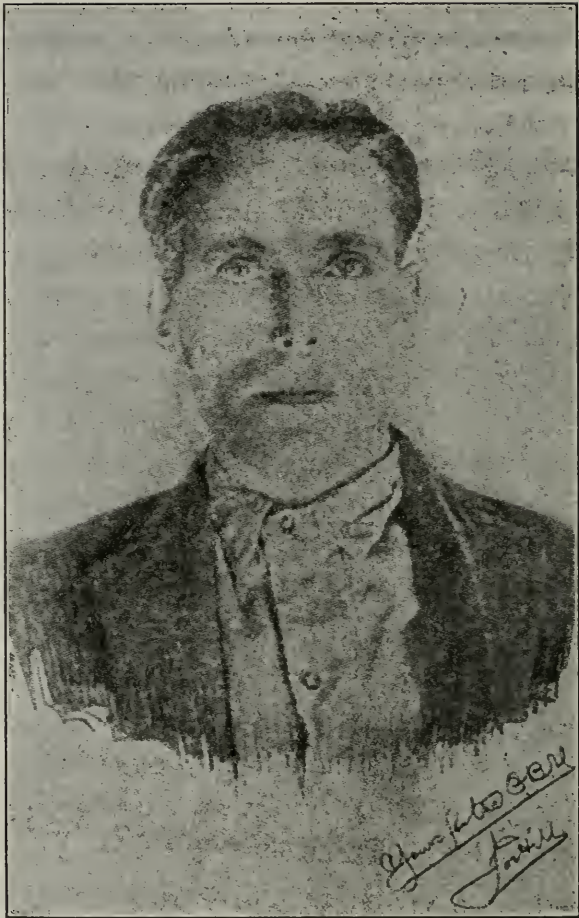
I. W. W. Publishing Bureau

February, 1917 [96]

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JOE HILL

Murdered by the Authorities of the State of Utah,
November the 19th, 1915

High head and back unbending—fearless and true,
Into the night unending; why was it you?

Heart that was quick with song, torn with their lead;
Life that was young and strong, shattered and dead.

Singer of manly songs, laughter and tears;
Singer of Labor's wrongs, joys, hopes and fears.

Though you were one of us, what could we do?
Joe, there were none of us needed like you.

We gave, however small, what Life could give;
We would have given all that you might live.

Your death you held as naught, slander and shame;
We from the very thought shrank as from flame.

Each of us held his breath, tense with despair,
You, who were close to Death, seemed not to care.

White-handed loathsome power, knowing no pause,
Sinking in labor's flower, murderous claws;

Boastful, with leering eyes, blood-dripping jaws . . .
Accurst be the cowardice hidden in laws!

Utah has drained your blood; white hands are wet;
We of the "surging flood" NEVER FORGET!

Our songster! have your laws now had their fill?
Know, ye, his songs and cause ye cannot kill?

High head and back unbending—"rebel true blue,"
Into the night unending; why was it you?

WORKERS OF THE WORLD AWAKEN!

By Joe Hill.

Workers of the world, awaken!

Break your chains, demand your rights.

All the wealth you make is taken

By exploiting parasites

Shall you kneel in deep submission

From your cradles to your graves?

Is the height of your ambition

To be good and willing slaves?

CHORUS.

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!

Fight for your own emancipation;

Arise, ye slaves of every nation,

In One Union grand.

Our little ones for bread are crying,

And millions are from hunger dying;

The end the means is justifying,

'Tis the final stand.

If the workers take a notion,

They can stop all speeding trains;

Every ship upon the ocean

They can tie with mighty chains.

Every wheel in the creation,

Every mine and every mill,

Fleets and armies of the nation,

Will at their command stand still.

Join the union, fellow workers,

Men and women, side by side;

We will crush the greedy shirkers

Like a sweeping, surging tide;
For united we are standing,
But divided we will fall;
Let this be our understanding—
“All for one and one for all.”

Workers of the world awaken!
Rise in all your splendid might;
Take the wealth that you are making,
It belongs to you by right.

1

No one will for bread be crying,
We'll have freedom, love and health,
When the grand red flag is flying
In the Workers' Commonwealth.

THE RED FLAG.

By James Connell.

The workers' flag is deepest red,
It shrouded oft our martyred dead;
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold
Their life-blood dyed its every fold.

CHORUS

Then raise the scarlet standard high;
Beneath its folds we'll live and die,
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the red flag flying here.

Look 'round, the Frenchman loves its blaze,
The sturdy German chants its praise;
In Moscow's vaults its hymns are sung,
Chicago swells its surging song.

It waved above our infant might
 When all ahead seemed dark as night;
 It witnessed many a deed and vow,
 We will not change its color now.

It suits to-day the meek and base,
 Whose minds are fixed on self and place;
 To cringe beneath the rich man's frown,
 And haul that sacred emblem down.

With heads uncovered, swear we all,
 To bear it onward till we fall;
 Come dungeons dark, or gallows grim,
 This song shall be our parting hymn!

2 [99]

THE INTERNATIONALE.

By Eugene Pottier.

(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
 Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
 For justice thunders condemnation,
 A better world's in birth.
 No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
 Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall!
 The earth shall rise on new foundations,
 We have been naught, we shall be all.

REFRAIN.

'Tis the final conflict,
 Let each stand in his place,
 The Industrial Union
 Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviors,
To rule us from a judgment hall;
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.

To make the thief disgorge his booty,
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.

The law oppresses us and tricks us,
Wage systems drain our blood;
The rich are free from obligations,
The laws the poor delude.

Too long we've languished in subjection,
Equality has other laws;
"No rights," says she, "without their duties,
No claims on equals without cause."

Behold them seated in their glory,
The kings of mine and rail and soil!
What have you read in all their story,
But how they plundered toil?

3

Fruits of the workers' toil are buried
In the strong coffers of a few;
In working for their restitution
The men will only ask their due.

Toilers from shops and fields united,
The union we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the workers,
No room here for the shirk.

How many on our flesh have fattened!
 But if the noisome birds of prey
 Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
 The blessed sunlight still will stay.

THE BANNER OF LABOR.

(Tune: "The Star Spangled Banner.")

Oh, say, can you hear, coming near and more near,
 The call now resounding: "Come all ye who labor?"
 The industrial band throughout all the land
 Bid toilers, remember each toiler his neighbor.
 Come, workers, unite! 'tis Humanity's fight.
 We call, you come forth in your manhood and might.

CHORUS

And the BANNER OF LABOR will surely soon wave
 O'er the land that is free from the master and slave.
 And the BANNER OF LABOR will surely soon wave
 O'er the land that is free from the master and slave.
 The blood and the lives of children and wives
 Are ground into dollars for parasites' pleasure;
 The children now slave, till they sink in their grave—
 That robbers may fatten and add to their treasure.
 Will you idly sit by, unheeding their cry?
 Arise! Be ye men! See, the battle draws nigh!
 Long, long has the spoil of labor and toil
 Been wrung from the workers by parasite classes;
 While Poverty gaunt, Desolation and Want
 Have dwelt in the bowels of earth's toiling masses.
 Through bloodshed and tears, our day star appears,
 INDUSTRIAL UNION, the wage slave now cheers.

THE WORKERS' MARSEILLAISE.

Ye sons of toil, awake to glory!

Hark, hark, what myriads bid you rise;
Your children, wives and grandsires hoary—

Behold their tears and hear their cries!

Behold their tears and hear their cries!

Shall hateful tyrants mischief breeding,

With hireling hosts, a ruffian band—

Affright and desolate the land,

While peace and liberty lie bleeding?

CHORUS

To arms! to arms! ye brave!

Th' avenging sword unsheathe!

March on, march on, all hearts resolved

On Victory or Death.

With luxury and pride surrounded,

The vile, insatiate despots dare,

Their thirst for gold and power unbounded

To mete and vend the light and air,

To mete and vend the light and air,

Like beasts of burden, would they load us,

Like gods would bid their slaves adore,

But man is man, and who is more?

Then shall they longer lash and goad us?

O, Liberty! can man resign thee?

Once having felt thy generous flame,
Can dungeon's bolts and bars confine thee?

Or whips, thy noble spirit tame?

Or whips, thy noble spirit tame?

Too long the world has wept bewailing,

That Falsehood's dagger tyrant wield;
 But Freedom is our sword and shield;
 And all their arts are unavailing!

You starving member of the unemployed. Why starve? We have produced enough. The warehouses are overflowing with the things we need.
WHY STARVE?

5

SHOULD I EVER BE A SOLDIER.

By Joe Hill

(Tune: "Colleen Bawn")

We're spending billions every year
 For guns and ammunition,
 "Our Army" and "Our Navy" dear,
 To keep in good condition;
 While millions live in misery
 And millions died before us,
 Don't sing "My Country, 'tis of thee,"
 But sing this little chorus.

CHORUS

Should I ever be a soldier,
 'Neath the Red Flag I would fight;
 Should the gun I ever shoulder,
 It's to crush the tyrant's might.
 Join the army of the toilers,
 Men and women fall in line,
 Wage slaves of the world! Arouse!
 Do your duty for the cause,
 For Land and Liberty.

And many a maiden, pure and fair,
Her love and pride must offer
On Mammon's altar in despair,
To fill the Master's coffer,
The gold that pays the mighty fleet,
From tender youth he squeezes,
While brawny men must walk the street
And face the wintry breezes.

Why do they mount their gatling gun
A thousand miles from ocean,
Where hostile fleet could never run—
Ain't that a funny notion?
If you don't know the reason why
Just strike for better wages,
And then, my friends—if you don't die—
You'll sing this song for ages.

6 [101]

HARVEST WAR SONG.

By Pat Brennan

(Tune: "Tipperary")

We are coming home, John Farmer; we are coming
back to stay.

For nigh on fifty years or more, we've gathered up
your hay.

We have slept out in your hayfields, we have heard
your morning shout;

We've heard you wondering where in hell's them
pesky go-about's?

CHORUS

It's a long way, now understand me; it's a long way
to town;
It's a long way across the prairie, and to hell with
Farmer John.
Up goes machine or wages, and the hours must come
down;
For we're out for a winter's stake this summer, and
we want no scabs around.
You've paid the going wages, that's what kept us on
the bum,
You say you've done your duty, you chin-whiskered
son of a gun.
We have sent your kids to college, but still you must
rave and shout,
And call us tramps and hoboes, and pesky go-about.
But now the wintry breezes are a-shaking our poor
frames,
And the long drawn days of hunger try to drive us
boes insane.
It is driving us to action—we are organized today;
Us pesky tramps and hoboes are coming back to
stay.

Every worker should have an ambition to live to
be a healthy old man or woman and hear the whistle
blow for the bosses to go to work.

WHAT WE WANT.

By Joe Hill

(Tune: "Rainbow")

We want all the workers in the world to organize
Into a great big union grand
And when we all united stand
The world for workers we'll demand
If the working class could only see and realize
What mighty power labor has
Then the exploiting master class
It would soon fade away.

CHORUS

Come all ye toilers that work for wages,
Come from every land,
Join the fighting band,
In one union grand,
Then for the workers we'll make upon this earth a
paradise,
When the slaves get wise and organize.
We want the sailor and the tailor and the lumber-
jacks,
And all the cooks and laundry girls,
We want the guy that dives for pearls,
The pretty maid that's making curls,
And the baker and the staker and the chimneysweep,
We want the man that's slinging hash,
The child that works for little cash
In one union grand.

We want the tinner and the skinner and the chamber-
maid,
We want the man that spikes on soles,
We want the man that's digging holes,
We want the man that's climbing poles,
And the trucker and the mucker and the hired man
And all the factory girls and clerks,
Yes, we want every one that works,
In one union grand.

8 [102]

WORKINGMEN, UNITE!

By E. S. Nelson.

(Tune: "Red Wing.")

Conditions they are bad,
And some of you are sad;
You cannot see your enemy,
The class that lives in luxury,—
You workingmen are poor,—
Will be forevermore,—
As long as you permit the few
To guide your destiny.

Shall we still be slaves and work for wages?
It is outrageous—has been for ages;
This earth by right belongs to toilers,
And not to spoilers of liberty.

The master class is small,
But they have lots of "gall,"
When we unite to gain our right,
If they *they* resist we'll use our might;

There is no middle ground,
This fight must be one round
To victory, for liberty;
Our class is marching on!
Workingmen, unite!
We must put up a fight,
To make us free from slavery
And capitalistic tyranny;
This fight is not in vain,
We've got a world to gain;
Will you be a fool, a capitalist tool,
And serve your enemy?

Our Country? The country of millions of hunted, homeless, hungry slaves! The country of Colorado, Louisiana, Texas, Michigan, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and all the other innumerable scenes of labor's shambles? Not OUR country.

9

SCISSOR BILL.

By Joe Hill.

(Tune: "Steamboat Bill.")

You may ramble 'round the country anywhere you
will,
You'll always run across the same old Scissor Bill.
He's found upon the desert, he is on the hill,
He's found in every mining camp and lumber mill.
He looks just like a human, he can eat and walk,
But you will find he isn't when he starts to talk.
He'll say, "This is my country," with an honest face,
While all the cops they chase him out of every place.

CHORUS

Scissor Bill, he is a little dippy,
 Scissor Bill, he has a funny face.
 Scissor Bill should drown in Mississippi,
 He is the missing link that Darwin tried to trace.
 And Scissor Bill, he couldn't live without the booze,
 He sits around all day and spits tobacco juice.
 He takes a deck of cards and tries to beat the Chink!
 Yes, Bill would be a smart guy if he only could think.
 And Scissor Bill, he says: "This country must be
 freed
 From Niggers, Japs and Dutchmen and the gol darn
 Swede."
 He says that every cop would be a native son
 If it wasn't for the Irishman, the sonna fur gun.

CHORUS

Scissor Bill, the "foreigners" is cussin';
 Scissor Bill, he says: "I hate a Coon";
 Scissor Bill is down on everybody—
 The Hottentots, the bushmen and the man in the
 moon.

Don't try to talk your union dope to Scissor Bill,
 He says he never organized and never will.
 He always will be satisfied until he's dead,
 With coffee and a doughnut and a lousy old bed.
 And Bill, he says he gets rewarded thousand fold,
 When he gets up to Heaven on the streets of gold.
 But I don't care who knows it, and right here I'll tell,
 If Scissor Bill is goin' to Heaven, I'll go to Hell.

CHORUS

Scissor Bill, he wouldn't join the union,
Scissor Bill, he says, "Not me, by Heck!"
Scissor Bill gets his reward in Heaven,
Oh! sure. He'll get it, but he'll get in the neck.

10 [103]

A DREAM.

By Richard Brazier.

(Tune: "The Holy City.")

One day as I lay dreaming, this vision came to me:
I saw an army streaming, singing of liberty;
I marked these toilers passing by, I listened to their
cry.

It was a triumphant anthem—an anthem filled with
joy;

It was a triumphant anthem—an anthem filled with
joy.

CHORUS

One union, industrial union;
Workers of the world unite,
To make us free from slavery
And gain each man his right.

I saw the ruling classes watching this grand array
Of marching, toiling masses passing on their way;
With pallid cheeks and trembling limbs they gazed
upon this throng,
And ever as they marched along the workers sang the
song;
And ever as they marched along the workers sang the
song:

CHORUS

Methought I heard the workers call to that ruling
band—

Come into our ranks, ye shirkers, for we now rule this
land.

Work or starve, the workers said, for you must earn
your bread.

Then into their ranks came the masters and joined
the workers' song;

Then into their ranks came the masters and joined
the workers' song.

All workers, "The Army of Production," in One
Big Union, regardless of age, creed, color or sex, is
invincible.

Labor is entitled to all it produces. An injury to
one is an injury to all.

11

THE TRAMP.

By Joe Hill.

(Tune: "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys Are
Marching.")

If you will shut your trap,
I will tell you 'bout a chap,
That was broke and up against it, too, for fair;
He was not the kind that shirk,
He was looking hard for work,
But he heard the same old story everywhere.

CHORUS

Tramp, tramp, tramp, keep on a-tramping,
Nothing doing here for you;
If I catch you 'round again,
You will wear the ball and chain,
Keep on tramping, that's the best thing you can do.

He walked up and down the street,
'Till the shoes fell off his feet.
In a house he spied a lady cooking stew,
And he said, "How do you do;
May I chop some wood for you?"
What the lady told him made him feel so blue.

CHORUS

'Cross the street a sign he read,
'Work for Jesus,' so it said,
And he said, "Here is my chance, I'll surely try,"
And he kneeled upon the floor,
'Till his knees got rather sore,
But at eating-time he heard the preacher cry—

CHORUS

Down the street he met a cop,
And the copper made him stop,
And he asked him, "When did you blow into town?
Come with me to the judge."
But the judge he said, "Oh fudge,
Bums that have no money needn't come around."

CHORUS

Finally came that happy day
When his life did pass away,

He was sure he'd go to heaven when he died,
 When he reached the pearly gate,
 Santa Peter, mean old skate,
 Slammed the gate right in his face and loudly cried :

12 [104]

WE COME.

(Air: "Toreador Song.")

Workers, the World!
 The Masters call in vain.
 Though ground down pitiless,
 We rise again;
 And to the call of millions crying from the depths,
 We shout our message to man—
 And from the hearts of all the land
 Comes loud and clear
 The answering call,
 "We Come."

Workers, be brave;
 Through nights of toil and pain,
 Oppression and slavery,
 Priest, gun and chain,
 Law and the bribings of a cruel, despotic class,
 We march and sing our refrain—
 Singing hopes of a million slaves:
 "Workers, unite.
 Unite."

Workers, be strong;
 They offer bribes in vain,
 Promise and trick us,

Keep us enchained;
But to humanity's call we answering come,
Chanting our far flung refrain—
And from the hearts of all the land
Comes loud and clear
The answer to us,
Workers, unite,
"We come."
Workers, the World!
Though Masters call in vain,
Grind us down pitiless,
We'll rise again.
And to the call of millions crying from the depths
We fling our challenge for right—
And from the hearts of all the land
Comes loud and clear
The answering call,
"We Come!"

13

THE PREACHER AND THE SLAVE.

By Joe Hill.

(Tune: "Sweet Bye and Bye")

Long-haired preachers come out every night,
Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right;
But when asked how 'bout something to eat
They will answer with voices so sweet:

CHORUS

You will eat, bye and bye,
In that glorious land above the sky;
Work and pray, live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky when you die.

And the starvation army they play,
 And they sing and they clap and they pray
 Till they get all your coin on the drum,
 Then they'll tell you when you're on the bum:

Holy Rollers and jumpers come out,
 And they holler, they jump and they shout.
 "Give your money to Jesus," they say,
 "He will cure all diseases today."

If you fight hard for children and wife—
 Try to get something good in this life—
 You're a sinner and bad man, they tell,
 When you die you will sure go to hell.

Workingmen of all countries, unite,
 Side by side we for freedom will fight:
 When the world and its wealth we have gained
 To the grafters we'll sing this refrain:

LAST CHORUS.

You will eat, bye and bye,
 When you've learned how to cook and to fry
 Chop some wood, 'twill do you good,
 And you'll eat in the sweet bye and bye.

14 [105]

THEY ARE ALL FIGHTERS.

By Richard Brazier.

(Tune: "San Antonio.")

There is a bunch of honest workingmen;
 They're known throughout the land.
 They've seen the horrors of the bull-pen,

From Maine to the Rio Grande.
They've faced starvation, hunger, privation;
Upon them the soldiers were hurled.
Their organization is known to the nation
As the Industrial Workers of the World.
Then hail to this fighting band!
Good luck to their union grand!

They're all fighters from the word go,
And to the master
They'll bring disaster.
And if you'll join them
They'll let you know
Just the reason the boss must go.

They've faced the Pinkertons and Gatling guns
In defense of their natural rights;
They proved themselves to be labor's sons
In all of the workers' fights;
They have been hounded by power unbounded
Of capitalists throughout the land,
But all are astounded, our foes are confounded
For we still remain a union grand.
Then hail to this fighting band!
Good luck to their union grand!

You live on coffee and on doughnuts;
The Boss lives on porterhouse steak.
You work ten hours a day and live in huts;
The Boss lives in the palace you make.
You face starvation, hunger privation,
But the Boss is always well fed.

Though of low station, you've built this nation—
 Built it upon your dead.

Then when will you ever get wise;
 When will you open your eyes?

15

THERE IS POWER IN A UNION.

By Joe Hill

(Tune: "There is Power in the Blood")

Would you have freedom from wage slavery,
 Then join in the grand Industrial band;
 Would you from mis'ry and hunger be free,
 Then come! Do your share, like a man.

CHORUS

There is pow'r, there is pow'r
 In a band of workingmen,
 When they stand hand in hand,
 That's a pow'r, that's a pow'r
 That must rule in every land—
 One Industrial Union Grand.

Would you have mansions of gold in the sky,
 And live in a shack, way in the back?
 Would you have wings up in heaven to fly,
 And starve here with rags on your back?

If you've had "nuff" of the blood of the lamb,"
 Then join in the grand Industrial band;
 If, for a change, you would have eggs and ham,
 Then come, do your share, like a man.

If you like sluggers to beat off your head,
Then don't organize, all unions despise,
If you want nothing before you are dead,
Shake hands with your boss and look wise.

Come, all ye workers, from every land,
Come, join in the grand Industrial band,
Then we our share of this earth shall demand.
Come on! Do your share, like a man.

“Why should one man's belly be empty when ten men can produce enough to feed a hundred?”

16 [106]

TA-RA-RA- BOMM DE-AY

By Joe Hill.

I had a job once threshing wheat, worked sixteen
hours with hands and feet.
And when the moon was shining bright, they kept me
working all the night.
One moonlight night, I hate to tell, I “accidentally”
slipped and fell.
My pitchfork went right in between some cog wheels
of that thresh-machine.

CHORUS

Ta-ra-ra boom-de-ay!
It made a noise that way,
And wheels and bolts and hay,
Went flying every way.
That stingy rube said, “Well!

A thousand gone to hell.”

But I did sleep that night,

I needed it all right.

Next day that stingy rube did say, “I’ll bring my
eggs to town to-day;

You grease my wagon up, you mutt, and don’t forget
to screw the nut.”

I greased his wagon all right, but I plumb forgot
to screw the nut,

And when he started on that trip, the wheel slipped
off and broke his hip.

SECOND CHORUS

Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay!

It made a noise that way,

That rube was sure a sight,

And mad enough to fight;

His whiskers and his legs

Were full of scrambled eggs:

I told him, “That’s too bad—

I’m feeling very sad.”

17

And then that farmer said, “You turk! I bet you
are an I-Won’t Work.”

He paid me off right there, By Gum! So I went
home and told my chum.

Next day when threshing did commence, my chum
was Johnny on the fence;

And ’pon my word, that awkward kid, he dropped
his pitchfork, like I did.

THIRD CHORUS.

Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay!
It made a noise that way,
And part of that machine
Hit Rueben on the bean.
He cried, "Oh me, oh my;
I nearly lost my eye."
My partner said, "You're right—
It's bedtime now, good night."

But still that rube was pretty wise, these things did
open up his eyes.
He said, "There must be something wrong; I think
I work my men too long."
He cut the hours and raised the pay, gave ham and
eggs for every day,
Now gets his men from union hall, and has no "acci-
dents" at all.

FOURTH CHORUS

Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay!
That rube is feeling gay;
He learned his lesson quick,
Just through a simple trick.
For fixing rotten jobs
And fixing greedy slobs,
This is the only way,
Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay!

Education is ammunition. Organization the
weapon. Aim true and keep your powder dry.

HOLD THE FORT

(English Transport Workers' Strike Song)

We meet today in Freedom's cause,
 And raise our voices high;
 We'll join our hands in union strong,
 To battle or to die.

CHORUS

Hold the fort for we are coming—
 Union men, be strong.
 Side by side we battle onward,
 Victory will come.

Look, my Comrades, see the union
 Banners waving high.
 Reinforcements now appearing,
 Victory is nigh.

See our numbers still increasing;
 Hear the bugle blow.
 By our union we shall triumph
 Over every foe.

Fierce and long the battle rages,
 But we will not fear.
 Help will come whene'er it's needed,
 Cheer, my Comrades, cheer.

THE NINETY AND NINE

By Rose Elizabeth Smith

(Tune: "Ninety and Nine")

There are ninety and nine that work and die,
 In hunger and want and cold,
 That one may revel in luxury,

And be lapped in the silken fold.
 And ninety and nine in their hovels bare,
 And one in a palace of riches rare.

From the sweat of their brow the desert blooms
 And the forest before them falls;

19

Their labor has builded humble homes,
 And cities with lofty halls;
 And the one owns cities and houses and lands
 And the ninety and nine have empty hands.

But the night so dreary and dark and long,
 At last shall the morning bring;
 And over the land the victor's song
 Of the ninety and nine shall ring,
 And echo afar, from zone to zone,
 "Rejoice! for Labor shall have its own."

THE ROAD TO EMANCIPATION

By Lone Wolf

(Tune: "Tipperary")

Now, workingmen, you know you live a life of misery,
 So join the union of your class, determined to be free.
 Don't let the master gouge your lives for many years to come,
 But organize upon the job and put him on the bum.

CHORUS

It's the road to Emancipation, it's the right way to go;

For the toilers to run the nation and the world, both
high and low.

Kick in, and do your duty; for it's up to you and
me—

It's the One Big Union of the Workers that will
bring prosperity.

Don't be a meek and lowly slave like lots of those you
meet;

Don't be a servile scissor bill and lick the bosses' feet.
Don't let them starve you off the earth, don't fear
their prison cell,

Make your laws in the union hall—the rest can go
to hell.

Now, workingmen, the masters they have no more
jobs to give;

You must form the taking habit if you ever wish to
live.

Postponing meals is suicide on the installment plan,
So organize to get the goods, and take them like a
man.

20 [108]

MR. BLOCK

By Joe Hill

(Air: "It Looks To Me Like a Big Time Tonight")

Please give me your attention, I'll introduce to
you

A man that is a credit to "Our Red, White and
Blue";

His head is made of lumber, and solid as a rock;

He is a common worker and his name is Mr. Block.
And Block he thinks he may
Be President some day.

CHORUS

Oh, Mr. Block, you were born by mistake,
You take the cake,
You make me ache.

Tie on a rock to your block and then jump in the
lake,
Kindly do that for Liberty's sake.

Yes, Mr. Block is lucky; he found a job, by gee!
The sharks got seven dollars, for job and fare and
fee.

They shipped him to a desert and dumped him with
his truck,
But when he tried to find his job, he sure was out of
luck.

He shouted, "That's too raw,
I'll fix them with the law."

Block hiked back to the city, but wasn't doing well.
He said, "I'll join the union—the great A. F. of L."
He got a job next morning, got fired in the night,
He said, "I'll see Sam Gompers and he'll fix that
foreman right."

Sam Gompers said, "You see,
You've got our sympathy."

Election day he shouted, "A Socialist for Mayor!"
The "comrade" got elected, he happy was for fair,
But after the election he got an awful shock,

A great big socialistic Bull did rap him on the block.
 And Comrade Block did sob,
 "I helped him to his job."

21

The money kings in Cuba blew up the gunboat Maine,
 But Block got awful angry and blamed it all on
 Spain.

He went right in the battle and there he lost his leg,
 And now he's peddling shoestrings and is walking
 on a peg.

He shouts, "Remember Maine,
 Hurrah! To hell with Spain!"

Poor Block he died one evening, I'm very glad to
 state,

He climbed the golden ladder up to the pearly gate.
 He said, "Oh, Mr. Peter, one word I'd like to tell,
 I'd like to meet the Astorbilts and John D. Rocke-
 fell."

Old Pete said, "Is that so?
 You'll meet them down below."

STAND UP! YE WORKERS

By Ethel Comer

(Air: "Stand Up for Jesus")

Stand up! Stand up! Ye workers;

Stand up in all your might.

United beneath our banner,

For Liberty and right.

From victory unto victory

This army sure will go,

To win the world for labor

And vanquish every foe.

Stand up! Stand up! Ye workers;
Stand up in every land.

Unite, and fight for freedom,
In ONE BIG UNION grand.

Put on the workers' armor,
Which is the card of Red,
Then all the greedy tyrants
Will have to earn their bread.

Arouse! Arouse! Ye toilers,
The strife will not be long.
This day the noise of battle,
The next the victor's song.
All ye that slave for wages,
Stand up and break your chain:
Unite in ONE BIG UNION—
You've got a world to gain.

22 [109]

CHRISTIANS AT WAR

By John F. Kendrick

(Tune: "Onward, Christian Soldiers")

Onward, Christian soldiers! Duty's way is plain:
Slay your Christian neighbors, or by them be slain.
Pulpiteers are spouting effervescent swill,
God above is calling you to rob and rape and kill,
All your acts are sanctified by the Lamb on high;
If you love the Holy Ghost, go murder, pray and die.
Onward, Christian soldiers, rip and tear and smite!
Let the gentle Jesus, bless your dynamite.
Splinter skulls with shrapnel, fertilize the sod;

Folks who do not speak your tongue, deserve the
curse of God.

Smash the doors of every home, pretty maidens seize;
Use your might and sacred right to treat them as you
please.

Onward, Christian soldiers! Eat and drink your
fill;

Rob with bloody figures, Christ O. K.'s the bill,
Steal the farmer's savings, take their grain and
meat;

Even though the children starve, the Savior's bums
must eat.

Burn the peasant's cottages, orphans leave bereft;
In Jehovah's holy name, wreak ruin right and left.

Onward, Christian soldiers! Drench the land with
gore;

Mercy is a weakness all the gods abhor.

Bayonet the babies, jab the mothers, too;

Hoist the cross of Calvary to hallow all you do.

File your bullets' noses flat, poison every well;

God decrees your enemies must all go plumb to hell.

Onward, Christian soldier! Blighting all you meet,
Trampling human freedom under pious feet.

Praise the Lord whose dollar sign dupes his favored
race!

Make the foreign trash respect your bullion brand of
grace.

Trust in mock salvation, serve as pirates' tools;

History will say of you: "That pack of G— d—
fools."

WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

(Air: "Lillibulero")

By Connell.

Stand up, ye toilers, why crouch ye like cravens?

Why clutch an existence of insult and want?

Why stand to be plucked by an army of ravens,

Or hoodwink'd forever by twaddle and cant?

Think of the wrongs ye bear,

Think of the rags ye wear,

Think on the insults endur'd from your birth;

Toiling in snow and rain,

Rearing up heaps of grain,

All for the tyrants who grind you to earth.

Your brains are as keen as the brains of your
masters,

In swiftness and strength ye surpass them by far;

Ye've brave hearts to teach you to laugh at disasters,

Ye vastly outnumber your tyrants in war.

Why, then, like cowards stand,

Using not brain or hand,

Thankful like dogs when they throw you a bone?

What right have they to take

Things that ye toil to make?

Know ye not, workers, that all is your own?

Rise in your might, brothers, bear it no longer;

Assemble in masses throughout the whole land;

Show these incapables who are the stronger

When workers and idlers confronted shall stand.

Thro' Castle, Court and Hall,

Over their acres all,

Onwards we'll press like waves of the sea,
 Claiming the wealth we've made,
 Ending the spoiler's trade;
 Labor shall triumph and mankind be free.

“War is Hell” for the workers. Let us make the
 Class War a nightmare for the masters.

“The poor—is any country his? What are to me
 your glories and your industries—they are not
 mine.”

24 [110]

SOLIDARITY FOREVER

By Ralph H. Chaplin

(Tune: “John Brown’s Body”)

When the Union’s inspiration through the worker’s
 blood shall run,
 There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the
 sun,
 Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble
 strength of one?
 But the Union makes us strong.

CHORUS

Solidarity forever!
 Solidarity forever!
 Solidarity forever!
 For the Union makes us strong.

Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy
 parasite
 Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us
 with his might?

Is there anything left for us but to organize and
fight?

For the Union makes us strong.

It is we who plowed the prairies; built the cities
where they trade,

Dug the mines and built the workshops; endless
miles of railroad laid.

Now we stand, outcast and starving, 'mid the
wonders we have made;

But the Union makes us strong.

All the world that's owned by idle drones, is ours
and ours alone.

We have laid the wide foundations; built it sky-
wards, stone by stone.

It is ours, and not to slave in, but to master and to
own,

While the Union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they never
toiled to earn.

But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel
can turn.

We can break their haughty power; gain our free-
dom, when we learn

That the Union makes us strong.

25

In our hands is placed a power greater than their
hoarded gold;

Greater than the might of armies, magnified a thou-
sand fold.

We can bring to birth the new world from the ashes
of the old,

For the Union makes us strong.

THE WHITE SLAVE

By Joe Hill

(Air: "Meet Me Tonight in Dreamland")

One little girl, fair as a pearl,
 Worked every day in a laundry;
 All that she made for food she paid,
 So she slept on a park bench so soundly;
 An old procuress spied her there,
 She came and whispered in her ear:

CHORUS

Come with me now, my girly,
 Don't sleep out in the cold;
 Your face and tresses curly
 Will bring you fame and gold,
 Automobiles to ride in, diamonds and silk to wear,
 You'll be a star bright, down in the red light,
 You'll make your fortune there.

Same little girl, no more a pearl,
 Walks all alone 'long the river,
 Five years have flown, her health is gone,
 She would look at the water and shiver,
 Whene'er she'd stop to rest and sleep,
 She'd hear a voice call from the deep:

CHORUS

Girls in this way, fall every day,
 And have been falling for ages,
 Who is to blame? You know his name,
 It's the boss that pays starvation wages.
 A homeless girl can always hear
 Temptations calling everywhere.

CHORUS

OVERALLS AND SNUFF

(Tune: "Wearing of the Green")

One day as I was walking along the railroad track,
I met a man in Wheatland with his blankets on his
back,
He was an old-time hop picker, I'd seen his face
before,
I knew he was a wobbly, by the button that he wore.
By the button that he wore, by the button that he
wore,
I knew he was a wobbly, by the button that he wore.
He took his blankets off his back and sat down on the
rail
And told us some sad stories 'bout the workers down
in jail.
He said the way they treat them there, he never saw
the like,
For they're putting men in prison just for going out
on strike,
Just for going out on strike, just for going out on
strike,
They're putting men in prison, just for going out on
strike.
They have sentenced Ford and Suhr, and they've got
them in the pen,
If they catch a wobbly in their burg, they vag him
there and then.
There is one thing I can tell you, and it makes the
bosses sore,
As fast as they can pinch us, we can always get some
more.

We can always get some more, we can always get
some more,
As fast as they can pinch us, we can always get some
more.

Oh, Horst and Durst are mad as hell, they don't know
what to do.

And the rest of those hop barons are all feeling
mighty blue.

Oh, we've tied up all their hop fields, and the scabs
refuse to come,

And we're going to keep on striking till we put them
on the bum.

Till we put them on the bum, till we put them on the
bum,

We're going to keep on striking till we put them
on the bum.

27

Now we've got to stick together, boys, and strive with
all our might,

We must free Ford and Suhr, boys, we've got to win
this fight.

From these scissor bill hop barons we are taking no
more bluff,

We'll pick no more damned hops for them, for over-
alls and snuff.

For our overalls and snuff, for our overalls and snuff,
We'll pick no more damned hops for them, for over-
alls and snuff.

DON'T TAKE MY PAPA AWAY FROM ME

Words and Music by Joe Hill

(Written just before his execution)

A little girl with her father stayed, in a cabin across
the sea,
Her mother dear in the cold grave lay; with her
father she's always be—
But then one day the great war broke out and the
father was told to go;
The little girl pleaded—her father she needed.
She begged, cried and pleaded so:

CHORUS

Don't take my papa away from me, don't leave me
there all alone.
He has cared for me so tenderly, ever since mother
was gone.
Nobody ever like him can be, no one can so with me
play.
Don't take my papa away from me; please don't take
papa away.
Her tender pleadings were all in vain, and her father
went to the war.
He'll never kiss her good night again, for he fell
'mid the cannon's roar.
Greater a soldier was never born, but his brave heart
was pierced one day;
And as he was dying, he heard some one crying,
A girl's voice from far away:

CHORUS

THE HOPE OF THE AGES

By E. Nesbit

(Tune: "Three Cheers for the Red, White and
Blue")

If you dam up the river of progress—
At your peril and cost let it be;
That river must seawards despite you—
'Twill break down your dams and be free;
And we heed not the pitiful barriers
That you in its way have downcast;
For your efforts but add to the torrent,
Whose flood must overwhelm you at last.

CHORUS

For our banner is rais'd and unfurled;
At your head our defiance is hurled;
Our cry is the cry of the ages—
Our hope is the hope of the world.

We laugh in the face of the forces
That strengthen the flood they oppose;
For the harder oppression the fiercer
The current will be when it flows.

We shall win, and the tyrant's battalions
Will scatter like chaff in the fight,
From which the true Soldiers of Freedom
Shall gather new courage and might.

Whether leading the van of the fighters,
In bitterest stress of the strife;
Or patiently bearing the burden
Of changelessly commonplace life,
One hope we have ever before us,
Our aim to attain and fulfill,

One watchword we cherish to mark us,
One kindred and brotherhood still.

What matter if failure on failure
Crowd closely upon us and press?
When a hundred have bravely been beaten
The hundred and first wins success.
Our watchword is "Freedom"; new soldiers
Flock each day where her flag is unfurled,
Our cry is the cry of the ages,
Our hope is the hope of the world.

29

STUNG RIGHT

By Joe Hill

(Air: "Sunlight, Sunlight")

When I was hiking 'round the town to find a job one
day,
I saw a sign "A thousand men are wanted right
away,"
To take a trip around the world in Uncle Sammy's
fleet,
I signed my name a dozen times upon a great big
sheet.

CHORUS

Stung right, stung right, S-T-U-N-G,
Stung right, stung right, E. Z. Mark, that's me;
When my term is over, and again I'm free,
There'll be no more trips around the world for me.
The man he said, "The U. S. fleet, that is no place
for slaves,
The only thing you have to do is stand and watch the
waves."

But in the morning, five o'clock, they woke me from
my snooze,

To scrub the deck and polish brass and shine the
captain's shoes.

One day a dude in uniform to me commenced to
shout,

I simply plugged him in the jaw and knocked him
down and out;

They slammed me right in irons then and said, "You
are a case."

On bread and water then I lived for twenty-seven
days.

One day the captain said, "To-day I'll show you
something nice,

All hands line up, we'll go ashore and have some
exercise."

He made us run for seven miles as fast as we could
run,

And with a packing on our back that weighed a half
a ton.

Some time ago when Uncle Sam he had a war with
Spain,

And many of the boys in blue were in the battle
slain,

Not all were killed by bullets, though; no, not by any
means,

The biggest part that died were killed by Armour's
Pork and Beans.

THE OPTIMISTIC LABORITES

By John F. Kendrick

(Tune: "The Harp That Once Through Tara's
Halls")

We'll sing the praise of future days,
The happy times to be,
When every man shall guard the plan
That every man be free.

We have no ties beyond the skies,
Our loves and hopes are here;
No holy fool can make us drool
The dismal hymns of fear.

With ready hand we take our stand
To hope and work and fight;
And while we live, our strength we'll give
For liberty and right.

We make all wealth, conserve all health,
By cunning craft and trade;
We bring all joys, for we're the boys
Of hammer, brush and spade.

Then live the part that warms the heart,
And wakens manhood's pride:
All Nature's laws confirm the cause
For which our comrades died.
Some day we'll own the fields we've sown,
When hunger's rule is past;
No child shall slave to feed a knave,
When man is free at last.

THE "BLANKET STIFF"

He built the road,
 With others of his class he built the road,
 Now o'er it, many a weary mile, he packs his load,
 Chasing a job, spurred on by hunger's goad,
 He walks and walks and walks and walks
 And wonders why in Hell he built the road.

31

CASEY JONES—THE UNION SCAB

By Joe Hill

The Workers on the S. P. line to strike sent out a
 call;
 But Casey Jones, the engineer, he couldn't strike at
 all;
 His boiler it was leaking, and its drivers on the bum,
 And his engine and its bearings, they were all out of
 plumb.

CHORUS

Casey Jones kept his junk pile running;
 Casey Jones was working double time;
 Casey Jones got a wooden medal,
 For being good and faithful on the S. P. line.
 The Workers said to Casey: "Won't you help us win
 this strike?"
 But Casey said: "Let me alone, you'd better take a
 hike."
 Then some one put a bunch of railroad ties across the
 track,
 And Casey hit the river with an awful crack.

Casey Jones hit the river bottom;
Casey Jones broke his blooming spine,
Casey Jones was an Angeleno,
He took a trip to heaven on the S. P. line.

When Casey Jones got up to heaven to the Pearly
Gate,

He said: "I'm Casey Jones, the guy that pulled the
S. P. freight."

"You're just the man," said Peter; "our musicians
went on strike;

You can get a job a-scabbing any time you like."

Casey Jones got a job in heaven;
Casey Jones was doing mighty fine;
Casey Jones went scabbing on the angels,
Just like he did to workers on the S. P. line.

The angels got together, and they said it wasn't fair,
For Casey Jones to go around a-scabbing every-
where.

The Angels' Union No. 23, they sure were there,
And they promptly fired Casey down the Golden
Stair.

Casey Jones went to Hell a-flying.

"Casey Jones," the Devil said, "Oh fine;

Casey Jones, get busy shoveling sulphur;

That's what you get for scabbing on the S. P.
line."

IT IS THE UNION

By Richard Brazier

(Tune: "We Have a Navy")

Sing a song in praise of toiling masses,
 Sing a song about our sons of toil;
 Sing of wrongs done to the working classes,
 Wrongs that make our hearts boil.
 We have always borne the blows and lashes—
 No more we'll patient stand,
 But on every hand, throughout this splendid land,
 We sons of toil will make our stand.
 Then in our glory will we tower,
 What will be the secret of our power?

CHORUS

It is the Union, the Industrial Union—
 Our banner is unfurled.
 We will unite in all our splendid might
 In the Industrial Workers of the World.
 We have a union, a fighting union,
 And our masters know that, too.
 It will keep them in their place
 When they know they have to face
 Our union of workingmen that's true.
 For countless years and ages we've been enslaved
 Beneath the capitalistic rule;
 We, the strong, cringing to those men depraved.
 In whose hands we have ever been a tool.
 But the day of liberty is dawning—
 Freedom now draws nigh.
 We must unite to win the fight—

Wage slavery then will die.
Then in our glory will we tower;
Great will be the workers' power.

An eight-hour day for all employed workers would
put thousands of the unemployed to work.

33

WE WILL SING ONE SONG

By Joe Hill

(Air: "My Old Kentucky Home")

We will sing one song of the meek and humble slave,
The horn-handed son of the toil,
He's toiling hard from the cradle to the grave,
But his master reaps the profits from his toil.
Then we'll sing one song of the greedy master class,
They're vagrants in broadcloth, indeed,
They live by robbing the ever-toiling mass,
Human blood they spill to satisfy their greed.

CHORUS

Organize! Oh, toilers, come organize your might;
Then we'll sing one song of the workers' common-
wealth.
Full of beauty, full of love and health.
We will sing one song of the politician sly,
He's talking of changing the laws;
Election day all the drinks and smokes he'll buy,
While he's living from the sweat of your brow.
Then we'll sing one song of the girl below the line,
She's scorned and despised everywhere,

While in their mansions the "keepers" wine and
dine

From the profits that immortal traffic bear.

We will sing one song of the preacher, fat and sleek,
He tells you of homes in the sky.

He says, "Be generous, be lowly, and be meek,
If you don't you'll sure get roasted when you die."
Then we'll sing one song of the poor and ragged
tramp,

He carries his home on his back;
Too old to work, he's not wanted 'round the camp,
So he wanders without aim along the track.

We will sing one song of the children in the mills,
They're taken from playgrounds and schools,
In tender years made to go the pace that kills,
In the sweatshops, 'mong the looms and the spools.
Then we'll sing one song of the One Big Union
Grand,

The hope of the toiler and slave,
It's coming fast; it is sweeping sea and land,
To the terror of the grafter and the knave.

34 [115]

THE REBEL GIRL

Words and Music by Joe Hill

(Copyrighted, 1916)

There are women of many descriptions
In this queer world, as everyone knows,
Some are living in beautiful mansions,
And are wearing the finest of clothes.
There are blue blooded queens and princesses,

Who have charms made of diamonds and pearl;
But the only and thoroughbred lady
Is the Rebel Girl.

CHORUS

That's the Rebel Girl, that's the Rebel Girl!
To the working class she's a precious pearl.
She brings courage, pride and joy
To the fighting Rebel Boy.
We've had girls before, but we need some more
In the Industrial Workers of the World.
For it's great to fight for freedom
With a Rebel Girl.

Yes, her hands may be hardened from labor,
And her dress may not be very fine;
But a heart in her bosom is beating
That is true to her class and her kind.
And the grafters in terror are trembling
When her spite and defiance she'll hurl;
For the only and thoroughbred lady
Is the Rebel Girl.

WE'RE READY

(Air: "Soldier's Song")

Courage and honor to him who's jailed;
Our hearts shall cheer him and cry "All Hail!"
Our hands shall help to win the fight—
We're ready to fight, we're ready to die
For Liberty.

Words and Music of "The Rebel Girl" may be
obtained in popular sheet form by applying to
I. W. W. Publishing Bureau. Price 25 cents.

WAGE WORKERS, COME JOIN THE UNION.

(Tune: "Battle Hymn of the Republic")

We have seen the reaper toiling in the heat of summer sun,

We have seen his children needy when the harvesting was done,

We have seen a mighty army dying, helpless, one by one,

While their flag went marching on.

CHORUS.

Wage workers, come join the union!

Wage workers, come join the union!

Wage workers, come join the union!

Industrial Workers of the World.

O, the army of the wretched, how they swarm the city street—

We have seen them in the midnight, where the Goths and Vandals meet;

We have shuddered in the darkness at the noises of their feet,

But their cause went marching on.

Our slavers' marts are empty, human flesh no more is sold,

Where the dealer's fatal hammer wakes the clink of leaping gold,

But the slavers of the present more relentless powers hold,

Though the world goes marching on.

But no longer shall the children bend above the whizzing wheel,

We will free the weary women from their bondage under steel;

In the mines and in the forest worn and helpless man shall feel

That his cause is marching on.

Then lift your eyes, ye toilers, in the desert hot and drear,

Catch the cool winds from the mountains. Hark! the river's voice is near;

Soon we'll rest beside the fountain and the dream-land will be here .

As we go marching on.

36 [116].

THE PARASITES

By John E. Nordquist

(Tune: "Annie Laurie")

Parasites in this fair country, lice from honest labor's sweat;

There are some who never labor, yet labor's product get;

They never starve or freeze, nor face the wintry breeze;

They are well fed, clothed and sheltered,
And they do whate'er they please.

These parasites are living, in luxury and state;
While millions starve and shiver, and moan their wretched fate;

They know not why they die, nor do they ever try
 Their lot in life to better;
 They only mourn and sigh.

These parasites would vanish and leave this grand
 old world,
 If the workers fought together, and the scarlet flag
 unfurled;
 When in One Union grand, the working class shall
 stand,
 The parasites will vanish,
 And the workers rule the land.

UP FROM YOUR KNEES!

By Ralph H. Chaplin

(Air: "Song of a Thousand Years")

Up from your knees, ye cringing serfmen!
 What have ye gained by whines and tears?
 Rise! they can never break our spirits
 Though they should try a thousand years.

CHORUS

A thousand years, then speed the victory!
 Nothing can stop us nor dismay.
 After the winter comes the springtime;
 After the darkness comes the day.
 Break ye your chains; strike off your fetters;
 Beat them to swords—the foe appears—
 Slaves of the world, arise and crush him;
 Crush him or serve a thousand years.

Join in the fight—the Final Battle,
Welcome the fray with ringing cheers,
These are the times all freemen dreamed of—
Fought to attain a thousand years.

Be ye prepared; be not unworthy,—
Greater the task when triumph nears.
Master the earth, O Men of Labor,—
Long have ye learned—a thousand years.

Over the hills the sun is rising,
Out of the gloom the light appears.
See! at your feet the world is waiting,—
Bought with your blood a thousand years.

DUMP THE BOSSES OFF YOUR BACK

By John Brill

(Tune: "Take It to the Lord in Prayer")

Are you poor, forlorn and hungry?

Are there lots of things you lack?

Is your life made up of misery?

Then dump the bosses off your back.

Are your clothes all patched and tattered?

Are you living in a shack?

Would you have your troubles scattered?

Then dump the bosses off your back.

Are you almost split asunder?

Loaded like a long-eared jack?

Boob—why don't you buck like thunder?

And dump the bosses off your back.

All the agonies you suffer,

You can end with one good whack—
 Stiffen up, you orn'ry duffer—
 And dump the bosses off your back.

The I. W. W. hits the boss in the latitude of his hip
 where he carries his greenware.

38 [117]

HARK! THE BATTLE-CRY IS RINGING!

By H. S. Salt

(Air: "March of the Men of Harlech")

Hark! the battle-cry is ringing!
 Hope within our bosoms springing,
 Bids us journey forward, singing—
 Death to tyrants' might!
 Tho' we wield not spear nor sabre,
 We the sturdy sons of Labor,
 Helping every man his neighbor,
 Shirk not from the fight!
 See our homes before us;
 Wives and babes implore us;
 So firm we stand in heart and hand,
 And swell the dauntless chorus:

CHORUS

Men of Labor, young or hoary,
 Would you win a name in story?
 Strike for home, for life, for glory!
 Justice, Freedom, Right!

Long in wrath and desperation,
Long in hunger, shame, privation,
Have we borne the degradation
 Of the rich man's spite;
Now, disdain'g useless sorrow,
Hope from brighter thoughts we'll borrow;
Often shines the fairest morrow
 After stormiest night.
Tyrant hearts, take warning,
Nobler days are dawning;
Heroic deeds, sublimer creeds,
Shall herald Freedom's morning!

If you would be informed of the every-day struggles, the theory and ultimate aim of the Revolutionary Labor Movement, you must read **SOLIDARITY**.

39

EVERYBODY'S JOINING IT

By Joe Hill.

(Air: "Everybody's Doin' It")

Fellow workers, can't you hear,
There is something in the air,
Everywhere you walk, everybody talk
'Bout the I. W. W.
They have got a way to strike
That the master doesn't like—
Everybody stick, that's the only trick,
All are joining it now.

CHORUS

Everybody's joining it! Joining what? Joining it!
 Everybody's joining it! Joining what? Joining it!
 One Big Union; that's the workers' choice,
 One Big Union; that's the only noise,
 One Big Union; shout with all your voice;
 Make a noise, make a noise, make a noise, boys,
 Everybody's joining it! Joining what? Joining it!
 Everybody's joining it! Joining what? Joining it!
 Joining in this union grand,
 Boys and girls in every land;
 All the workers hand in hand—
 Everybody's joining it now.

Th' Boss is feeling mighty blue,
 He don't know just what to do,
 We have got his goat, got him by the throat,
 Soon he'll work or go starving.
 Join I. W. W.

Don't let bosses trouble you,
 Come and join with us—everybody does—
 You've got nothing to lose.

Will the One Big Union grow?
 Mister Bonehead wants to know,
 Well! What do you think of that funny gink
 Asking such foolish questions?
 Will it grow? Well! Look a here,
 Brand new unions everywhere,
 Better take a hunch, join the fighting bunch,
 Fight for Freedom and Right.

A. F. OF L. SYMPATHY.

By B. L. Weber

(Tune: "All I Got Was Sympathy")

Bill Brown was a worker in a great big shop,
Where there worked two thousand others;
They all belonged to the A. F. of L.,
And they called each other "brothers."
One day Bill Brown's union went out on strike,
And they went out for higher pay;
All the other crafts remained on the job,
And Bill Brown did sadly say:

CHORUS

All we got was sympathy;
So we were bound to lose, you see;
All the others had craft autonomy,
Or else they would have struck with glee,
But I got good and hungry,
And no craft unions go for me.
Gee! Ain't it hell, in the A. F. of L.
All you get is sympathy.

Bill Brown was a thinker, and he was not a fool,
And fools there are many, we know,
So he decided the A. F. of L.
And its craft divisions must go.
Industrial Unions are just the thing,
Where the workers can all join the fight;
So now on the soap box boldly he stands,
A singing with all of his might:

CHORUS

There are but two nations, a nation of Masters and
a nation of Slaves.

One active agitating worker in the industry, is
worth a dozen in the jungle.

One Big Union, One Enemy—The Boss.

41

JOHN GOLDEN AND THE LAWRENCE STRIKE

By Joe Hill

(Tune: "A Little Talk With Jesus")

In Lawrence, when the starving masses struck for
more to eat
And wooden-headed Wood he tried the strikers to
defeat,
To Sammy Gompers wrote and asked him what he
thought,
And this is just the answer that the mailman
brought:

CHORUS

A little talk with Golden
Makes it right, all right;
He'll settle any strike,
If there's coin in sight;
Just take him up to dine
And everything is fine—
A little talk with Golden
Makes it right, all right.

The preachers, cops and money-kings were working
hand in hand,

The boys in blue, with stars and stripes were sent
by Uncle Sam;

Still things were looking blue, 'cause every striker
knew

That weaving cloth with bayonets is hard to do.

John Golden had with Mr. Wood a private interview,

He told him how to bust up the "I double double U."

He came out in a while and wore the Golden smile.

He said: "I've got all labor leaders skinned a
mile."

John Golden pulled a bogus strike with all his "pinks
and stools."

He thought the rest would follow like a bunch of
crazy fools.

But to his great surprise the "foreigners" were
wise,

In one big solid union they were organized.

CHORUS OF LAST VERSE

That's one time Golden did not

Make it right, all right;

In spite of all his schemes

The strikers won the fight.

When all the workers stand

United hand in hand,

The world with all its wealth

Will be at their command.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE

By Walquist

(Tune: "Love Me and the World Is Mine")

I wander up and down the street,
 Till I have blisters on my feet.
 My belly's empty, I've no bed,
 No place to rest my weary head.
 There's millions like me wandering,
 Who are deeply pondering,
 Oh, what must we do to live?
 Shall the workers face starvation, mis'ry and priva-
 tion,
 In a land so rich and fair?

CHORUS

Unite, my Fellow Men, unite!
 Take back your freedom and your right
 You have nothing to lose now,
 Workers of the World, unite.

Oh! workingmen, come organize,
 Oh! when, oh! when will you get wise?
 Are you still going to be a fool,
 And let the rich man o'er you rule?
 It is time that you were waking,
 See the dawn is breaking,
 Come now, wake up from your dream.
 All this wealth belong to toilers,
 And not to the spoilers,
 Wage slaves throw your chains away.

CHORUS

Unite, my Fellow Men, unite!
And crush the greedy tyrant's might.
The earth belongs to Labor,
Workers of the World, unite.

DON'T FORGET that you have been up against
it this winter. How about next winter?

43

LABOR'S DIXIE

By Charles M. Robinson

Work away down South in the land of cotton,
"Citizen's Leagues" and all that's rotten,
Work away, day by day, nary pay, Dixie land;
Work away down South in Dixie,
Work away, nary pay,
In Dixie land the children toil
And the mothers moil in Dixie land,
Work away, day by day, nary pay down South in
Dixie.

CHORUS

Work away, work away, away, away,
Away down South in Dixie!
In Dixie land let's take our stand
And live and die for Dixie!

In Dixie land is the Democratic party,
Organized to make the darkie
Work away, day by day, nary pay, Dixie land;
Work away down South in Dixie,

Work away, nary pay,
 In Dixie land it grinds and grabs
 And burns and stabs in Dixie land,
 Work away, day by day, nary pay down South in
 Dixie.

In Dixie land is the thief land-holder—
 Used to be bold, but he's now grown bolder,
 Work away, day by day, nary pay, Dixie land;
 Work away down South in Dixie,
 Work away, nary pay,
 In Dixie land he drags white "tramps"
 Off to his camps in Dixie land,
 Work away, day by day, nary pay down South in
 Dixie.

But in Dixie land we're organizing,
 Soon results will be surprising,
 Work away, day by day, it will pay, Dixie land;
 Work away, day by day, it will pay down South
 in Dixie.

Work away down south in Dixie,
 Work away, it will pay,
 For in Dixie land we'll strike the blow—
 The boss must go from Dixie land—

44 [120]

THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ARE NOW AWAKING

By Richard Brazier

(Tune: "The Shade of the Old Apple Tree")
 The Workers of the World are now awaking;
 The earth is shakin' with their mighty tread,

The master class in great fear now are quaking,
The sword of Damocles hangs o'er their head.
The toilers in one union are uniting,
To overthrow their cruel master's reign.
In one union now they all are fighting,
The product of their labor to retain.

CHORUS

It's a union for true Liberty,
It's a union for you and for me;
It's the workers' own choice,
It's for girls and for boys,
Who want freedom from wage slavery;
And we march with a Red Flag ahead,
'Cause the blood of all nations is red—
Come and join in the fray,
Come and join us today,
We are fighting for Freedom and Bread.

The master class in fear have kept us shaking,
For long in bondage they held us fast;
But the fight the Industrial Workers are now making
Will make our chains a relic of the past.
Industrial unionism now is calling,
The toilers of the world they hear it cry.
In line with the Industrial Workers they are falling,
By their principles to stand or fall and die.

DON'T FORGET that eight hours a day would
put thousands to work.

Why does a short work day and a long pay always
go together?

PAINT 'ER RED

By Ralph H. Chaplin

(Tune: "Marching Through Georgia")

Come with us, you workingmen, and join the rebel
band;

Come, you discontented ones, and give a helping
hand.

We march against the parasite to drive him from the
land.

With ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION!

CHORUS

Hurrah! hurrah! we're going to paint 'er red!

Hurrah! hurrah! the way is clear ahead—

We're gaining shop democracy and liberty and
bread

With ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION!

In factory and field and mine we gather in our might,
We're on the job and know the way to win the hard-
est fight,

For the beacon that shall guide us out of darkness
into light,

Is ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION!

Come on, you fellows, get in line; we'll fill the boss
with fears;

Red's the color of our flag, it's stained with blood
and tears—

We'll flout it in his ugly mug and ring our loudest
cheers

For ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION!

"Slave!" they call us "working plugs," inferior by
birth,

But when we hit their pocketbooks we'll spoil their
smiles of mirth—

We'll stop their dirty dividends and drive them from
the earth

With ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION!

We hate their rotten system more than any mortals
do.

Our aim is not to patch it up, but build it all anew,
And what we'll have for government, when finally
we're through,

Is ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION!

45 [121]

GONE ARE THE DAYS

By Richard Brazier

(Tune: "Old Black Joe")

Gone are the days, when the master class could say,

"We'll work you long hours for little pay;

We'll work you all day and half the night as well."

But I hear the workers' voices saying, "You will, like
Hell."

CHORUS

For we're going, we're going to take an eight hour
day.

We surely will surprise the Boss some first of May.

Now, workmen, it's up to you to say

If you want a general eight hour day.

As soon as you are ready, we are with you heart and
hand.

All you have to do is to join our Union grand.

CHORUS

Now, workingmen, we are working far too long;
 That's why we've got this vast unemployed throng.
 Give every worker a chance to work each day;
 Let's all join together and to the Boss all say,

CHORUS

 SABOTAGE

Make it too expensive for the boss to take the lives
 and liberty of the workers. Stop the endless court
 trials by using the Wooden Shoe on the job.

Secure a bundle order of Solidarity each week for
 distribution, one and one-half cents per copy.

“War is Hell.” Let the capitalists go to war to
 protect their own property.

47

 THE WORKERS' BATTLE CRY FOR FREE-
 DOM

By Geo. G. Allen

(Air: “Shouting the Battle Cry of Freedom”)
 Yes, we'll rally from the mines, boys, and fields of
 waving grain,
 To shout the Workers' battle cry for freedom.
 And we'll rally from the workshops where millions
 have been slain,
 To shout the Workers' battle cry for freedom.

CHORUS

One Union forever, Hurrah, boys, Hurrah!
Down with Tradition! Let's raise the Wooden Claw.
Then we'll rally from the sweat shops, from brush to
 Poor Man's Lane,
 To shout the Workers' battle cry for freedom.
We shall rally to the call, boys, on every sea and
 shore.
 To shout the Workers' battle cry for freedom.
We shall stand with folded arms and for Masters
 slave no more,
 And shout the Workers' battle cry for freedom.

CHORUS

When the world is standing still and the Master cries
 for peace,
 Let's shout the Workers' battle cry for freedom.
When he dons the overalls then the working class
 will cease
 To shout the Workers' battle cry for freedom.

SECOND CHORUS

One Union forever! Hurrah, boys, Hurrah!
Down with the Gunmen! Let's raise the Wooden
 Paw.
When we've gathered in the Camp, in the Jungle, on
 the Train,
Let's shout the Workers' battle cry for freedom.

COME JOIN THE ONE BIG UNION, DO

(Tune: "My Hula Hula Love")

By Richard Brazier

Down in Lawrence, Massachusetts, where we held the
Woolen Trust at bay

And won a shorter day, and a big increase in pay;
Where the workers showed the shirkers just what
they could do.

In Little Falls, too, they won the day.

CHORUS

Workers, oh workers, let's show this gang of shirkers
What we can do with One Union true.

For your Union is fighting, for you your wrongs
we're righting;

Come join the One Big Union, do.

Down in Louisiana, where the fighting lumberjacks
do dwell,

Their labor power sell, in Kirby's peon hell;
Where the masters met disaster, when they met these
workingmen who knew

That One Big Union true, could win the fray.

The women in the sweatshops, and the children work-
ing in the mills;

The stockyard's man who kills, the miner in the
hills;

Must stick together, in all weather; in One Big Union
they must fight

Against the master's might, they must unite.

DON'T FORGET that our fight is your fight. So
let's fight together.

Organize yourself and fellow workers on the job for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions.

DON'T FORGET that a short work day, and big pay, always go together.

49

WALKING ON THE GRASS

(Tune: "The Wearing of the Green")

In this blessed land of freedom where King Mammon wears the crown,

There are many ways illegal now to hold the people down.

When the dudes of state militia are slow to come to time,

The law upholding Pinkertons are gathered from the slime.

There are wisely framed injunctions that you must not leave your job,

And a peaceable assemblage is declared to be a mob,
And Congress passed a measure framed by some consummate ass,

So they are clubbing men and women just for walking on the grass.

In this year of slow starvation, when a fellow looks for work,

The chances are a cop will grab his collar with a jerk;
He will run him in for vagrancy, he is branded as a tramp,

And all the well-to-do will shout: "It serves him right, the scamp!"

So we let the ruling class maintain the dignity of
 law,
 When the court decides against us we are filled with
 wholesome awe,
 But we cannot stand the outrage without a little
 sauce
 When they're clubbing men and women just for walk-
 ing on the grass.
 The papers said the union men were all but anarchist,
 So the job trust promised work for all who wouldn't
 enlist;
 But the next day when the hungry horde surrounded
 city hall,
 He hedged and said he didn't promise anything at
 all.
 So the powers that be are acting very queer to say
 the least—
 They should go and read their Bible and all about
 Belshazzar's feast,
 And when mene tekel at length shall come to pass,
 They'll stop clubbing men and women just for walk-
 ing on the grass.

50 [123]

LIBERTY FOREVER

(Air: "Anvil Chorus")

We broke the yoke of a pitiless class,
 And we burst all asunder our bonds and chains;
 Our organization will win when it strikes,
 And no more shall a king or a crown remain—
 United fast we are with bonds that naught can
 sever;

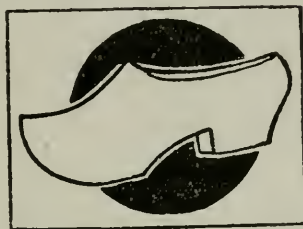
Long, loud and clear and far our battle cry rings
ever—

Liberty for aye and aye!

Liberty for ever!

Liberty for ever!

Shall be our battle cry.



If freedom's road seems rough and hard,
And strewn with rocks and thorns,
Then put your wooden shoes on, pard,
And you won't hurt your corns,
To organize and teach, no doubt,
Is very good—that's true,
But still we can't succeed without
The good old wooden shoe.

J. Hill.

UNION SCABS

My dear brother, I am sorry to be under contract to hang you, but I know it will please you to hear that the scaffold is built by union carpenters, the rope bears the label and here is my card.

THE BONEHEAD WORKING MAN

Mr. Slave, Mr. Slave, listen to the call,
 Of the brave to the brave; take the world for all.
 Now you need the light and might to free all home-
 less working men,
 Look around, all around and see,
 Hear the pound, hear the sound of machinery.
 How the owners fool you, how they rule you.
 Just hear the bosses blow.

CHORUS.

Hurry up! Hurry up! on my new machine.
 Man, you're slow, boss is losing money.
 It displaces seventy men. If you cannot speed up
 you're fired then.
 Go and look, go and look for another master.
 Good or bad, you sure will make him wealthy.
 It's God darned hard to wake you up.
 YOU'RE A BONEHEAD WORKING MAN.

Mr. Slave, Mr. Slave, hear the union grand.
 It's a wave, it's a wave rolling through the land.
 This the masters fear we are here to free our class
 from slavery.
 Get a book, get a book, read the word of light.
 Take a look, take a look, join the band of might.
 Come and be a wobbly, then you'll probably
 Not let the bosses cry:

CHORUS

I. W. W. PENNANTS

Full size red felt pennants with large I. W. W. label and the wording, One Big Union. With the design and wording in three colors this makes an attractive appearance for demonstrations, and for decorating halls, etc. Price 25 cents each, postpaid.

52 [124]

WHERE THE FRASER RIVER FLOWS.

(Tune: "Where the River Shannon Flows")

Fellow workers pay attention to what I'm going to mention,

For it is the fixed intention of the Workers of the World.

And I hope you'll all be ready, true-hearted, brave and steady,

To gather 'round our standard when the Red Flag is unfurled.

CHORUS

Where the Fraser river flows, each fellow worker knows,

They have bullied and oppressed us, but still our Union grows.

And we're going to find a way, boys, for shorter hours and better pay, boys;

And we're going to win the day, boys; where the river Fraser flows.

For these gunny-sack contractors have all been dirty actors,

And they're not our benefactors, each fellow worker
knows.

So we've got to stick together in fine or dirty weather,
And we will show no white feather, where the Fraser
river flows.

Now the boss the law is stretching, bulls and pimps
he's fetching,

And they are a fine collection, as Jesus only knows.
But why their mothers reared them, and why the
devil spared them,

Are questions we can't answer, where the Fraser
river flows.

Why should any worker be without the necessities
of life when ten men can produce enough for a hun-
dred?

53

ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION.

By G. G. Allen

(Air: "Marching Through Georgia")

Bring the good old red book, boys, we'll sing another
song,

Sing it to the wage slave who has not yet joined the
throng

Of the revolution that will sweep the world along,
To One Big Industrial Union.

CHORUS

Hooray! Hooray! The truth will make you free.
Hooray! Hooray! When will you workers see?

The only way you'll gain your economic liberty,
Is One Big Industrial Union.

How the masters holler when they hear the dreadful
sound

Of sabotage and direct action spread the world
around;

They's getting ready to vamoose with ears close to
the ground,

From One Big Industrial Union.

Now the harvest String Trust they would move to
Germany,

The Silk Bosses of Paterson, they also want to flee
From strikes and labor troubles, but they cannot get
away

From One Big Industrial Union.

You migratory workers of the common labor clan,
We sing to you to join and be a fighting Union Man;
You must emancipate yourself, you proletarian,
With One Big Industrial Union.

CHORUS

Hooray! Hooray! Let's set the wage slave free,
Hooray! Hooray! With every victory
We'll hum the workers' anthem till you finally must
be

In One Big Industrial Union.

NOVEMBER NINETEENTH.

By John E. Nordquist

(Tune: "The Red Flag")

They've shot Joe Hill, his life has fled,
 They've filled his manly heart with lead;
 But his brave spirit hovers near
 And bids each fellow worker cheer.

CHORUS

On high the blood red banners wave!
 The flag for which his life he gave;
 The master class shall rue the day
 They took Joe Hillstrom's life away.

Now, fellow workers, shed no tear,
 For brave Joe Hill died without fear;
 He told the bosses' gunmen, low:
 "I'm ready fire! Let her go!"

No more Joe Hill shall pen the songs
 That pictured all the workers' wrongs;
 His mighty pen shall rust away,
 But all his songs are here to stay.

Now Salt Lake City's Mormon throngs
 Must list to Joe Hill's rebel songs;
 While angry sabs shall prowl the night
 To Show the One Big Union's might.

March on, march on, you mighty host,
 And organize from coast to coast;
 And Joe Hill's spirit soon shall see
 Triumphant Labor's victory.

“Military preparedness” is a part of the “preparedness of the capitalist class” for larger and more intensive exploitation of labor. One Big Union of the working class will be sufficient “preparedness” to enable the working class to overcome their enemy—ON ANY FIELD.

55

JOE HILL'S LAST WILL.

(Written in his cell, November 18, 1915, on the eve of his execution)

My will is easy to decide,
For there is nothing to divide.
My kin don't need to fuss and moan —
“Moss does not cling to a rolling stone.”

My body? Ah, if I could choose,
I would to ashes it reduce,
And let the merry breezes blow
My dust to where some flowers grow.

Perhaps some fading flower then
Would come to life and bloom again,
This is my last and final will,
Good luck to all of you.

JOE HILL.

“I have lived like an artist; I shall die like an artist.”—Joe Hill.

“Don't waste any time mourning—ORGANIZE!”
—Joe Hill.

WORDS AND MUSIC
in
POPULAR SHEET FORM
of

the following songs written by Joe Hill:

“The Rebel Girl.”

“Don’t Take My Papa Away from Me.”

“Workers of the World, Awaken.”

Single copies, 25c, 5 for \$1.00, 60 for \$10.00.

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau.

56 [126]

HOW TO JOIN THE I. W. W.

Any wage worker wishing to become a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, may proceed in the following manner:

1. If you live in a locality where there is a union of your industry already in existence, apply to the secretary of that union. He will furnish you with an application blank containing the Preamble to the I. W. W. Constitution and the two questions which each candidate must answer in the affirmative. The questions are as follows:

“Do you agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization?”

“Will you diligently study its principles and make yourself acquainted with its purposes?”

The initiation fee is fixed by the union, but cannot be more than \$5.00 in any instance, and is usually \$2.00. The monthly dues cannot exceed \$1.00 and are in most unions 50 cents.

2. If there is no union of the I. W. W. in your vi-

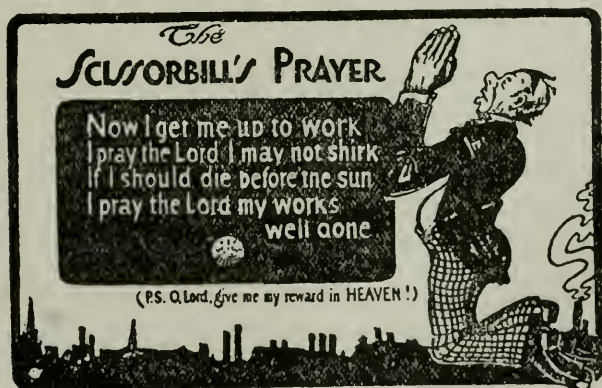
cinity, you may become a Member of the General Recruiting Union by making application to the General Secretary, whose address is given below. You will be required to answer affirmatively the two above questions, and pay an initiation fee of \$2.00. The monthly dues are 50c for membership.

3. Better still, write to the General Secretary for a Charter Application Blank. Get no less than TWENTY signatures thereon, of bona fide wage workers in any one industry and send the charter application with the names to the General Secretary, with the \$10.00 charter fee. Supplies, constitutions and instructions will then be sent you, and you can proceed to organize the union.

Join the I. W. W. Do it now!

The address of the General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. is, Wm. D. Haywood, 1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

STICK 'EM UP!



STICKERETTES

I. W. W.

Silent Agitators.

ONE BIG UNION Propaganda with the hot-air taken out and a KICK added. Designed especially for use on the job and on the road. Publicity agents that work everywhere and all the time.

Just the thing to wise up the slave, jolt the Scissor Bill and throw the fear of the O. B. U. into the boss.

Eleven different designs printed in black and red.

Price. One envelope containing 150 STICKERETTES 25c. or one box of 10 envelopes (1,500 STICKERETTES) \$1.50 Postpaid.

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

1001 W. Madison Street

CHICAGO, ILL.

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INDUSTRIAL UNION LITERATURE.

Too great a number of titles of books, pamphlets, leaflets, etc., are now furnished by the Publishing Bureau to allow their listing here in limited space. In nearly every town there are either Local Organizations of the I. W. W. or Newsdealers who carry a complete stock of the literature on this subject.

An Introductory Package of literature the regular value of which is \$1.00 is offered to those wishing to make a preliminary study of this subject and the I. W. W. at 75c postpaid. The package contains one each of eleven pamphlets and also a copy of the Song Book.

A complete list and prices of both the reading matter and other special mediums of propaganda such as I. W. W. Pennants, special designs in Stickers, Pictures, Sheet Music, Photographs and Post Cards will be sent free to any address on receipt of request.

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

1001 W. Madison Street

CHICAGO, ILL.

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(Cover of pamphlet:)

I. W. W.

One Big Union

Of All the Workers

The Greatest Thing on Earth

The I. W. W. Preamble.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease

work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one [129] an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto: "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword: "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

ONE BIG UNION.

Social relations are the reflex of the grouping of industrial possessions. The owners of all resources and means of wealth form a class of their own; the owners of labor power as their only possession in the market, another. Political, judicial, educational and other institutions are only the mirror of the prevailing system of ownership in the resources and means of production.

One class owns and controls the necessaries, to wit: the economic resources of the world. That class, for its own protection and perpetuation in power, subjects all other institutions to their prevailing class interests. Conversely, there is a class that strives to change the foundation of the industrial arrangement. The workers realize that immediately following the change these social relations will also be shifted; institutions deriving their sup-

port and sustenance from the class in power will be made to conform to new conditions after the overthrow of the previously existing industrial system. [130]

Social structures collapse as a result of ever recurring changes in their economic foundation. But the new structure is not a ready-made product of each of the epochs of reconstruction. An historic process of evolution reaches a climax in a revolutionary upheaval. Achievements of preceding epochs are always utilized in the constructive work of a never-resting, always advancing civilization.

Decaying elements render nourishment to Mother Earth for the generation of new species and structures. Nothing is lost in the reciprocal process of nature. Precisely so in social systems. Achievements of social and industrial evolutions are always preserved after a revolutionary climax removes all obstacles to further developments. Only the class previously dominating the policies and actions of the social institutions is supplanted by the revolutionary change; one form of ownership in the means of life is shifted to another class.

Capitalist ownership of industries had its origin in the unfolding of conditions which hastened the downfall of the feudal age, and the advent of another class to power.

Co-operative control of industries by all engaged in the process of production must build its foundation on the highly perfected form and methods of production, and upon the conditions which accelerate the passing away of the capitalist system of

ownership in the instruments of production and distribution.

The feudal lords had to surrender their sceptre to the ascending bourgeoisie, better known to-day as the capitalist class. The latter, at the outset, had in view only the free development of all forces of production, in an era of unrestricted competition between individuals. When, over a century ago, the change was consummated by revolutions, the instruments [131] of production were more equally distributed. They were in possession of a multitude of the victorious capitalists, who owned small enterprises. Most people would expect that in such a competitive system as was then established, every one would have a chance to rise to a superior station in life. The instruments of production were not highly developed. Handicraft in the operation of small machines, or in the use of tools, still predominated. Small capital only was required in starting the manufacture of things for small margins of profits.

This epoch, beginning with the revolution of the "Third Estate" in France, found its counterpart in the revolution of the American people against British semi-feudalistic rule. Since then the forms, methods and yield of production have rapidly developed in one direction, in every industrially advanced country. The means of production were centralized ever more in fewer and fewer hands. With the centralization of the means of production and distribution, the agencies protecting the interests in power also grew proportionately. Gradually all elements

that obscured the lines of cleavage between the producers of wealth and the class that expropriated all economic resources of the world are eliminated.

The manufacturers of yore exist only in small communities. They depend, however, more or less on the good will of those who permit them to exist by supplying them with the raw products for production, or those who own the transportation facilities by which the products are transported into the markets.

In this process of transformation other things can be observed. Social relations are shifting with the change in the forms and in the ownership of the means of production. Social strata are fiercely struggling for their conservation, [132] in vain. There is no escape from the irretrievable result of these rapid changes in industrial possessions and arrangements.

The howls of freaks, the frantic appeals and clamors of reformers will not in the least affect the course of events. The destructive battles of trades unions, divided up in factions and sections that find their traditional base in the middle ages, will not turn back the wheel that rolls on with irresistible force.

The outcry, so often heard before, redounds in vociferous strength again: A revolution! "A revolution is needed to change these conditions." It is a cry of despondency. Not only heard from Socialists. They at least propose some way of consummating their program of a revolution. But the middle-class is more frantic in its wailings of despair. In their band wagon they are lining up a large following of workers. Millions are made to

believe that an impending struggle against predatory wealth will have as object the restoration of by-gone conditions or the enforcement of restrictive measures for curbing further concentration of industries.

But the workers are not, and should not be concerned in the hopeless struggles of a decaying element of society. They have an historic mission to perform, a mission that they will carry out despite the promises held out to them that a restoration of past conditions would accrue to their benefit also.

They begin to realize that in the constructive work for the future they have to learn the facts of past evolutions and revolutions. And from these facts expressed in theories they find the guide for the course that they have to pursue in their struggle for the possessions of the earth, and the goods [133] that they alone have created. That growing portion of the working class are building on the rockbed of historic facts and the structure to be erected follows the plan that

“It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism”—“the army of production must be organized. By organizing industrially the workers are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.”

Some definite conclusion must be drawn from the previously established premises. It is the heritage of the working class to utilize to the fullest extent the great achievements of the preceding and existing processes and methods of production, for the benefit of all useful members of society.

In its advent to power and supremacy the present economic master class succeeded another that decayed in the process of evolution. This mastery of the present owners of the economic resources will also give way and pave the way for successors. The workers, conscious of their mission, must recognize the fact that the industries are developing to the highest state of perfection, and will be ready for operation under a new arrangement of things, namely after the class now in possession and control of them have gone the way of decay under the pressure of the advancing force of a new civilization. But it is imperative to arrange the human forces of production for the operation of the vast resources and implements of production under a system wherein commodities will be made for use alone. To build and to arrange correctly, and for lasting purposes, the constructors of a further developed industrial structure must possess a thorough knowledge of the material, and of organizations destined to accomplish the task. The architects must know the proper grouping of each component part and cell in the composition [134] of industrial combinations, so that, when harmony in the industrial relationship of mankind is established, it will be reflected in the harmonious social, political, judicial, and ethical institutions of a new age.

We repeat: Industrial and social systems are not ready-made products. In their changes from one stage to another they derive their propelling forces from the achievements and accomplishments of each

preceding epoch. In its onward course to a further advanced system, society is going to utilize all that present day society has evolved and constructed. This the workers must know, and then they will also learn the intricate, interdependent arrangements of the component parts of the whole industrial system. Equipped with this knowledge, they will be able to construct and form their own industrial organizations, the frame-structure of the new society, accordingly. By learning the social relations and understanding their source, they can profit and prepare to change the industrial structure of society, which as a matter of course, will determine also the changes in the social and political character of the system which is bound to be inaugurated. And this is the problem. The working class, as the promoter and supporter of a higher standard of social relations and interrelations, must be equipped with the knowledge, must construct the organizations, by which the cause of social classes can be removed. Industrial inequality is the source of all other inequality in human society. The change in the ownership of the essentials of life will bring automatically, so to say, the change in the intercourse and the associations, and also in the institutions for the promotion of these things, between the human beings upon the globe.

Good will, revolutionary will-power, determination, [135] courage are valuable assets in the struggle for the change. But they are like the water on the millwheels, unconscious of the great service that they are rendering. To convert force and power into useful operation requires intelligence. And

that intelligence must guide us to use the accumulated force for a defined purpose. That purpose, as it seems to be agreed, is to form a new social, or rather industrial structure within the shell of the old. To accomplish this the advocates, the militants for the new, must know to what extent the present factors in industrial development have organized and systematized industrial production. When this is fully understood, this may also explain the subsequent domination of industrial possession over the political, social and other agencies in present day and previously existing societies.

The workers of the world, conscious of their historic mission, will learn to avoid the mistakes they would make should they depend on other forces than their own for the solution of the world's problem. Agencies and institutions deriving their lease of existence from the industrial masters of today can not be looked to for support. They may feign being in favor of radical changes in the effects—they will, however, strenuously and violently oppose any attempt at destroying the base, or the cause.

The working class alone is interested in the removal of industrial inequality, and that can only be accomplished by a revolution of the industrial system. The workers, in their collectivity, must take over and operate all the essential industrial institutions, the means of production and distribution, for the well-being of all the human elements comprising the international nation of wealth-producers.

[136]

No destruction, no waste, no return into barbar-

ism! A higher plan of civilization is to be achieved. When the workers understand how the industrial system of today has developed, how one industrial pursuit dovetails into another, and all comprise an inseparable whole, they will not wantonly destroy what generations of industrial and social forces have brought forth. The workers will utilize the knowledge of ages to build and to plant on a solid rockbed the foundation of a new industrial and social system.

The foundation must be firm and solid. The revolutionary climax, after an incessant course of evolutionary processes by which forms and methods undergo changes, will eliminate forever the cause for the industrial division of society into two hostile camps. Harmonious relations of mankind in all their material affairs will evolve out of the change in the control and ownership in industrial resources of the world.

That accomplished, the men and women, all members of society in equal enjoyment of all the good things and comforts of life, will be the arbiters of their own destinies in a free society.

We present, with this introduction, to all our comrades in battle and strife, a portrait of industrial combinations.

ANALYSIS OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF INDUSTRIES.

The Chart Explained in Detail.

The main object of this explanation to the chart is to show how industries are grouped together in a scientific order.

Production begins with the exploitation of the natural resources of the earth. Labor is applied to extract the material [137] that nature has stored up or generated. Production continues with the transportation of these products, mostly raw material, or fuel-matter, to the centers of manufacture and commerce. The construction of places of shelter for a man and things, the building of agencies of communication, are functions of another industrial branch of the system. We observe, finally, how the care-taking, the education, the providing for public convenience, fall to the functions of another department in the interdependent processes of industrial life.

In presenting this plan of organization of industries, as it exists today, we have in mind only the object before explained. The workers, forced by capitalistic ownership of the means and production to do service in all these industries, must organize themselves in their proper places in the industries in which they are engaged. Every worker who studies this map will find where he will fit in when the industries are organized for the control of the workers through industrial organization.

Of course, it is the ultimate purpose of this arrangement that every worker shall have equal rights, and equal duties also, with all others in the management of the industry in which he or she serves in the process of production.

But the other purpose, equally important, is to organize the workers in such a way that all the members of the organization in any one industry, or in

all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making the injury to one the injury to all.

Of course, this can only be accomplished when the workers organize on industrial lines. That is to say, the workers [138] of any one plant or industry must be members of one and the same organization—no craft division lines. The capitalist institutions are today organized on exactly the same lines. The industries as they are grouped to day, dovetailing into each other, furnish to the workers the basis for the construction of their organization for the struggles of today for better living conditions, and for the supervision and the management of industries in an industrial commonwealth of workers and producers.

DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS IS PART OF PRODUCTION.

All natural resources of the soil, mines and water receive their first value when labor is applied to turn the products into useful things.

But all of these products have more social value when they are transported to places of manufacture and commerce, where they are transformed and converted into commodities for exchange.

The life of human beings will not consist of common drudgery alone when all the good things created are enjoyed by the workers.

For all purposes, present and the future, the functions of the public service institutions have to be defined, and people engaged in their maintenance must be given a place in the industrial organization; the

same as those who take care of the sick and disabled. Those who render other social and public service should know they are engaged in useful occupation, although most of the institutions in which they serve today are prostituted for the protection of capitalist interests.

For all functions combined, the industries are arranged on the general plan presented on the map, as follows: [139]

1. The Department of Agriculture, Land, Fisheries and Water Products.
2. The Department of Mining.
3. The Department of Transportation and Communication.
4. The Department of Manufacture and General Production.
5. The Department of Construction.
6. The Department of Public Service.

The departments again have their subdivisions. As it is proposed that the workers organize in accordance with the industries in which they are engaged in service, it is essential that a general term be applied. This will make it easier to understand that each of these industrial subdivisions constitutes for itself a sub-organization of workers, in which they will be able to govern affairs that appertain to that industry alone.

Each of these subdivisions would comprise the workers organized in an Industrial Union, which, however would not be separate and distinct from all others, as the term "division" would imply. (We

have looked in vain for an expression that would convey the proper meaning.)

It is impossible, at this stage, to eliminate entirely the terms now used to designate certain functions that sets of workers perform in each industry. But it should be distinctly understood that this is not to imply that these craft-groups in industries will organize, as has been the case heretofore, in separate craft-unions, or according to the tools that each set of workers use. That would mean dividing-up under another name. A worker in an industry will be assigned to the organization representing the product or products of that industry. Each sub-branch of the general industrial union is [140] modeled accordingly.

When the workers engaged in a particular industrial production organize industrially, all are subject to the same rules governing the affairs of each industry. But certain fundamental rules and principles governing all component parts of the "one big union of workers" cannot be infringed upon by any of its component parts without doing injury to the whole organic body.

Still another point to be made clear: The process of production does not cease until the finished product reaches the consumer. All workers engaged in the process of distribution are members of the same industrial union, or Department organization in which the makers of the commodity are organized.

Of course, the railroad and water-transportation workers will be in the Transportation Department, although it might be said that they also are engaged

in the process of distribution. But here is the difference. They only transport goods to other localities or countries, and the real distribution process for use and consumption takes place after finished commodities have reached the merchant.

For instance: A salesman or clerk in a shoe store would be a member of the organization, or a branch thereof, in which are organized all workers engaged in the shoe industry. A teamster delivering meats, or other goods from a grocery, would be in the organization in which all the foodstuff workers of that particular branch are organized. But a truck driver, who may haul a big shipment of boxes containing garments from one depot to another, and on his next trip between depots, will haul a load of nails for further transportation or distribution, performs the work of a transport worker, and as such organizers in the union of that industry. [141]

With these necessary explanations, suggestive of a better understanding of the plan of organization, one will far better be able to see how industries are grouped on the chart.

I.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, LAND, FISHERIES AND WATER PRODUCTS.

Four subdivisions comprise this department:

A. General and Stock Farming.

This subdivision comprises all workers employed in general and stock farming. 1. In grain and vegetables: All farm workers, in plowing, planting, reaping, and fertilizing operations—which would, of course, include all engineers, firemen, blacksmiths,

repairworkers, carpenters, etc., working on farms and engaged in farm-product work. All workers on cotton and sugar plantations would come into this group, also all irrigation-workers, that is, all working at the operation of irrigation-systems as engineers, pumpmen, lockmen, pipe and repairmen, etc.

2. On cattle and live stock farms: Ranchmen, herders, sheep shearers, general utility men, all workers on fowl and bird farms; on dairy farms, etc.

B. Horticulture.

This subdivision comprises all workers on fruit farms, flower gardens, tea and coffee plantations, orchards, tobacco farms—all workers engaged in the cultivation of silk, in vineyards, truck farms—workers in hothouses; fruit pickers, boxmakers and packers, etc.

C. Forestry and Lumbering.

In this subdivision are associated together all workers in forests; rangers, foresters, game wardens, woodchoppers, [142] and lumberworkers; all workers in the saw and shingle mills adjacent to forests, preparing wood for shipment for manufacturing purposes; collectors of sap, herb, leaf, cork and bark, etc.

D. Fisheries and Water Products.

In this subdivision are organized all fishermen on ocean, lakes and rivers; oyster and clam-bed keepers—in short, all workers engaged in raising, keeping and catching of fish; in the collection of pearls, sponges and corals, such as divers, sorters, etc., which would include all mechanics on fishing boats and steamers, etc.

II.

DEPARTMENT OF MINING.

This department again consists of four large subdivisions:

A. Coal and Coke Mining.

All coal miners comprise this industrial union. All workers in bituminous, anthracite, lignite and other coal mines, including, of course, mining engineers, firemen, pumpmen, blacksmiths, mine carpenters, shotfirers, breaker boys. All workers employed in the production of coke, all miners of turf, peat; clerks in the offices of mines, and also all workers in the coal yards at the places of distribution, such as teamsters, shovelers, derrick-workers, weighers, etc.

B. Oil, Gas and By-Products.

The workers in this subdivision also organize to manage the affairs of this part of the mining industry, that is, all workers employed in the natural gas and oil fields; shaft sinkers, pipemen, pumpmen, tankmen, gaugers, and also all workers in the oil distribution places, as fillers, coopers, teamsters, all workers in the oil-refining plants, as well as [143] oil by-product institutions.

C. Metal Mining.

This subdivision embraces all workers employed in the mining of gold, silver, copper, zinc, lead, tin, platinum, iron, ore, etc., and in it are also organized all workers in the smelters, including the workers in the repair and mechanical departments, such as repairers, carpenters, machinists, ropemen, teamsters

in the main and subsidiary enterprises, and also waiters, cooks in small mining camps.

D. Salt, Sulphur, Mineral, Stone and Gem Mining.

In this fourth subdivision of the mining department organization are brought together all workers employed in the mining of *sale*, sulphur, clay, borax, mica, bromine, graphite, sodas, gypsum, asphalt, limestone, sandstone, whetstone, marble, onyx, slates, building stones, asbestos, and gems of all kinds, like diamonds, sapphires, etc.

It includes all workers in the refineries, in the salines, salt and soda dry works, quarry workers, etc.

III.

DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION.

Brief Preface.

The process of transportation, different from the process of final distribution, comprises the act of bringing the products of land, water, and mines to the places of manufacture and general production, and to re-transport the partly finished goods either to other places at which the process of production is finished, or to bring the finished goods to the points where the distribution to the users or consumers takes place. This process also includes the transport of human beings to and from one place to another. As the interchange process [144] cannot always be carried on by direct transportation of people, the indirect method of transmitting commercial transactions by mail or by telegraphy is resorted to.

All the workers engaged in either of the sub-branches of that department are organized together. But, for expediency, they are grouped together in five subdivisions, as parts of that department organization.

A. Long-Distance Transportation on Land.

This subdivision embraces all workers employed in the long distance railroad service, such as railroad engineers, motormen, firemen, conductors, trainmen, switchmen, all engaged in the supervision and maintenance of the roads, railroad freight yard workers, station tenders, watchmen, car repairers, railroad dispatchers and telegraphers; all workers in the railroad repair shops, all clerks in the railroad offices, etc., etc.

B. Marine Transportation.

In this subdivision are all workers employed on steamships, sailing vessels and tugboats, such as sailors and wheelmen, engineers, water tenders, oilers, firemen and coalpassers, stewards, waiters, cooks, etc. Also all workers employed in the loading and unloading of vessels, dry dock and repair workers, etc., etc.

C. Municipal Transportation.

In this subdivision are organized all workers in municipal passenger transportation service, street car workers, all workers on elevated roads, or city subway lines, including all the workers in the power-producing plants, electricians, linemen, car shop workers, also cab drivers, automobile drivers, barn-stable and garage workers, wherever the service is

directly connected with the municipal transportation service. [144½]

D. Air Navigation.

This will comprise all workers engaged in the service of air navigation, transporting passengers, dispatches, or anything else.

E. Communication.

All workers in the postal and commercial telegraph, telephone and wireless service are organized in this subdivision, such as clerks, carriers, mail wagon teamsters, telegraph and telephone operators, towerman, linemen, including the janitors, cleaners, etc., in all stations and houses.

IV.

DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURE AND GENERAL PRODUCTION.

If this department be subdivided in industrial unions only, it would not give justice to those engaged in the various industrial sections that make up the complex organization embracing them all. The department comprises so many industries that it is necessary to establish a standard for their proper arrangement. Each kind of raw material transformed or converted into a finished article for use, be it either for food, or clothing, for comfort or general utility purposes, for the production of instruments for the further development of advanced producing methods, forms the basis for a subdepartment of production. Each sub-department again has its subdivisions. In other department organizations they are marked as parts of the same, while in this arrangement the subdivisions, or industrial unions,

form the component parts of a sub-department.

The Department of General Production is accordingly composed of the following sub-departments:

[145]

- a. Glass and pottery (ceramic goods).
- b. Clothing and textile.
- c. Leather and substitutes.
- d. Metal working and machinery building.
- e. Woodworking goods.
- f. Chemicals.
- g. Foodstuffs.
- h. Printing.

Sub-Department A.

Glass and Pottery (Ceramic Goods).

1. All workers employed in the making of glass wares are organized in the first sub-division; flint glass, green glass, window glass, plate glass workers, furnace workers, mixers, blowers, gatherers, annealers, cutters, polishers, etc.

2. All workers in potteries, porcelain factories, china-ware factories, including decorators and designers, clerks, salesmen, teamsters in sales and distribution houses of ceramic goods.

3. Those employed in terra cotta works, tile and brick-making yards.

Sub-Department B.

Textile and Clothing Manufacture.

This sub-department is composed of workers from the following industrial subdivisions:

1. All workers employed in the manufacture of silk, linen, cotton, wool and worsted articles, as mule-spinners, loom-fixers, weavers, warpers, carders,

sorters, clerks and stenographers in factories and retail houses, all workers in dye-houses, including chemists, inspectors, also all workers employed in the making of knitting wares, passementerie workers, wood silk workers, etc. [146]

2. All those engaged in the making of garments and other goods of silk, artificial silk, linen, cotton and woollen fabrics, such as clothing workers, workers in collar and shirt factories, including all salesmen, clerks, stenographers in distribution places (dry goods stores).

3. All workers employed in establishments where wearing apparel is made of fur, felt, straw, etc., as furriers, glove makers, hatmakers, straw hat makers, millinery workers.

Sub-Department C.

Manufacture of Leather Goods and Substitutes.

This sub-department is composed of workers organized in three sub-divisions:

1. All workers employed in tanneries and leather preparing houses.

2. All workers engaged in the manufacture of shoes and boots, as cutters, lasters, inseamers, etc., which, of course, includes all clerks and stenographers in the offices, and the clerks in shoe stores and distribution houses of shoes, teamsters, engineers, firemen, etc., working in the shoe industry.

3. All workers in other leather goods, or substitutes of leather, such as harness makers, and horse goods makers, workers in belt factories, etc.

Sub-Department D.

Metal and Machinery Manufacture.

All workers employed in making goods of any kind of metal are grouped together in this sub-department, three subdivisions joining together to constitute the same in which are organized:

1. All workers in blast furnaces, steel mills, rolling [147] mills, tin plate mills, wire mills, nail mills, rail mills, including all workers in plants where by-products are manufactured.

2. All workers engaged in the building of engines and machinery, such as pattern makers, core makers, molders of iron, and other metals, machinists, all other workers in all these plants, including the workers in the power departments of such plants, machinery movers and teamsters, etc.

3. All workers employed in making of metal wares and products other than engines and machines, of different metals, such as workers in watch factories, knife and saw factories, in the making of jewelry goods, and utensils, and of instruments; silver smiths, goldsmiths, etc.

Sub-Department E.

Manufacture of Wood Articles.

This sub-department consists of organizations of workers employed in the manufacture of goods out of wood, or principally wood. It would embrace all workers in piano factories, planing mills, furniture factories, hotel and bar fixture factories; all workers in cooperage shops, in reed and rattan factories, box factories, etc. Of course, the workers of each of these industries would form a branch organization,

embracing all the workers of one or more plants in which a given article is manufactured, for instance, in an industrial union of piano workers would be organized not only the wood workers, but also the metal workers, tuners, polishers, piano movers, etc., employed in that industry.

Sub-Department F.

Manufacture of Chemical Goods.

This sub-department comprises all workers employed:

1. In the production of paint, drugs, rubber, guttapercha, [148] powder, dynamite, melinite, and all explosives; inks, perfumes, turpentine, celluloid, soaps, etc., including chemists engaged in these pursuits, all workers in drug stores and pharmacies, as clerks and salesmen, etc.

2. All workers employed in the making of cellulose and papers, for printing and commercial purposes.

Sub-Department G.

Manufacture of Foodstuffs.

Made up of five industrial subdivisions, this sub-department is composed of workers engaged: I. In the production of foodstuffs made of grain and cereals. II. In the production of foodstuffs made of animal matters. III. In the production of liquids for consumption. IV. In the production of narcotics. V. In the distribution of foodstuffs. As the process of production is not finished until the goods are put to use by the consumer all workers in the distributing places, that is, the workers in hotels, inns, restaurants, saloons, etc., form organizations

connected with the foodstuff sub-department.

I. Comprises all workers in flour and cereal mills, in bakeries, biscuit factories, candy and confectionery shops, in sugar refineries, in fruit packing and canning plants, including, of course, all engineers, coopers, clerks, salemen and delivery teamsters employed in any of such establishments.

II. This subdivision comprises all workers employed in meat packing houses, in all the fifty-nine factory departments; dairy and milk depot workers and deliverers, all workers in fish-packing houses.

III. In this are organized all workers in wine and whiskey distilleries, in breweries, malthouses, vinegar factories, [149] ginger and eider mills, all employed in yeast production, and production of soda and soft drinks. These, as all other industries, include the workers in the power-furnishing departments of all these plants and the workers in the delivery and distributing stations, also clerks, stenographers in the offices, etc.

IV. The fourth subdivision comprises all workers employed in the manufacture of tobacco goods; cigar-makers, stogiemakers, cigarette makers, all other tobacco factory workers, clerks in cigar and tobacco stores, distributors, etc.

V. In the fifth subdivision are organized all workers in hotels and restaurants and saloons, as cooks, waiters, bartenders, bakers and butchers in hotels, barbers, if employed in the hotel service, chambermaids, hotel clerks, etc., chauffeurs and cabdrivers, if they are in the hotel service exclusively.

Sub-Department H.

Printing.

All workers in the printing and lithographing institutions are organized in this sub-department. Printers, pressmen, bookbinders, photo-engravers, stereotypers, lithograph artists and printers, designers, editors of newspapers and magazines, proof-readers, including, of course, all machinists, engineers, firemen, electricians, janitors and clerks in the printing industry.

V.

DEPARTMENT OF BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION.

This department is composed of three national subdivisions: [150]

A. All workers employed in the erection and construction of buildings are organized in this subdivision: Architects, designers, excavators, stonemasons, bricklayers, hodcarriers, cement workers, carpenters and joiners, electricians, elevator constructors, painters, architectural iron workers, plumbers, building material teamsters, etc. But these crafts are not organized in craft groups, but they form according to the nature of their work branch organizations of the one "Building Constructors Industrial Union" in every locality.

B. In this subdivision are organized all workers employed in the construction of roads, tunnels and bridges, such as pavers, bridgebuilders, workers employed in the building of docks, subways, in the construction of irrigation works, of sewers, of canals, etc.

C. All workers engaged in the construction of ships and vessels are organized in this subdivision; in the building of steamers, launches, tug boats, as ship caulkers and carpenters, iron ship builders, machinists, boilermakers, coppersmiths and all other branches of workers directly engaged in this industry.

VI.

Department of Public Service.

This department is composed of workers organized in six national industrial unions, constituting each a component part of the department organization.

- A. Hospital and sanitariums.
- B. Sanitary protective division.
- C. Educational institutions.
- D. Water, gas and electricity supply service.
- E. Amusement service.
- F. General distribution. [151]

A. In this subdivision are organized all workers in hospitals and health-restoration resorts, sanitariums, etc., such as physicians, nurses, waiters, cooks, attendants, laundry workers in these institutions, etc.

B. This is constituted of workers employed in the protection of health and public safety, that is, all workers employed in the cleaning and caretaking of streets, public places and parks, the street protection workers, all workers in immigration stations, house janitors, office building workers, all workers employed in burial places, as funeral teamsters, embalmers, grave diggers, crematorium workers, etc.

C. In this subdivision are organized all workers

in public schools, and all institutions of learning, education and instruction, such as teachers, lecturers, librarians, including also all workers keeping the institutions in sanitary and wholesome condition, such as school and university wardens, janitors, engineers, firemen, etc.

D. This subdivision is composed of workers in municipal power houses, pumping stations, all workers in plants supplying to communities power, gas, electricity, etc.

E. All workers in theaters, amusement places, concert halls and gardens, on ball play grounds, in summer-resort and amusement places organize themselves into this subdivision, such as actors, musicians, stage workers, singers, ushers, waiters in amusement places, etc., also all workers engaged in the making, production and exhibition of moving pictures.

F. The big department stores and distribution houses, with thousands of workers employed in each, have more or less assumed the functions of public service institutions. Not one specialized article, but in fact any and all kinds of commodities [152] and fabrics are going through the process of distribution.

It would be well-nigh impossible to organize the workers in the service according to the goods that they handle in the process. Therefore, all the workers in these distribution stores are organized together into unions as component parts of the one subdivision, which in turn is a part of the department organization of public service workers.

Tailors in department stores, clerks in the shoe

department of a department store, or any other workers, irrespective of the place of employment, of the tools they use, are organized together; stenographers, clerks, tailors, repairers, freight handlers, packers, department store drivers, bakers, candy makers, etc., in these stores, all are members of one industrial union.

CONCLUSION.

When now and then advocates of a better system of society refer to the new unionism they do it, in most cases, without knowing fully the distinction between the old kind of unionism and the unionism that advocates—One Big Union for the Entire Working Class the World Over! But, even if the critics of this plan of action disagree with the author of this booklet as to the means to attain a desired end, they can no longer plead that there never has been any literature, presented in which the program of the industrial unionists has been enunciated.

Organize industrially; organize right! This is the call to the downtrodden heard all over the world. In increasing numbers the proletariat of every country is enlightening itself on the subject, and everywhere workers are preparing for organization in which they will find the embodiment of their [153] collective power and the instrument for direct action, as occasion and conditions may command. All countries of the world are governed, principally, in the interests of the small class controlling industrial combinations. Whenever the workers aimed heavy blows at these interests directly, that is, when they refused to serve, temporarily, in the production process of these

industries, the exploiting class all over the world burst out in frantic denunciations of the forces that had so little regard for private property.

The industrial unionists propose to organize the workers for more militant action within present day society, so that, with every advance gained, the workers will gain an appetite for more and for all, and will find the means to get it.

And in all these days of unrest and struggle the industrialists are preparing the administrative, the government agencies, for the industrial commonwealth. Representatives elected by the workers, organized in their industrial organizations, will constitute the industrial parliament of the future, the workers' commune in municipal, national and international affairs.

STUDY THE CHART.

Observe how commercialism, the main factor in the development of the capitalist system of production, encircles the whole globe with the means and tributaries at its service:

Transportation facilities as the messengers for the exchange of products between countries and continents know no boundary lines—land, water, air have been conquered and rendered servants of the monstrous forces behind the prevailing industrial system of production and exchange.

Industrial development has wiped out boundary lines [154] between sectional territories.

National dividing lines disappear before the invincible force of the conqueror.

Continents so long separated by landmarks and obstacles of natural origin are linked and joined together by the gigantic weld of that international carrier of exchange and distribution.

But the functions of that agent of a social system are still today confined to the service of profit-production for a few.

What still remains, in the minds of mankind, as a force for separate nationalities, is merely imaginary.

A heavy load of traditional falsehoods, holding living human beings in a bondage of ignominious, deep-rooted, and ingeniously fostered intellectual, and hence also in industrial serfdom must disappear; national separation must be swept aside by the advancing forces of international co-operation before the highest and most marvelous stages of industrial development, social progress, and perfection in the utilization of all elements subservant to the generating powers of mankind, can be achieved, and a higher order of civilization be established.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL LINE.

Observe also how a second transcontinental line connects the world's component parts into one inseparable whole. Science and scientific research and discoveries are the international agencies by which the riddles and miracles of the universe, in all their magnitude are solved and explained. Institutions of learning, schools and universities are linked together by the uniformity of fundamental laws governing science [155] and the dissemination of knowledge and discoveries.

Likewise are evils and afflictions, springing irresistibly from the same sources, suffered alike by all living beings throughout the world. Remedies and means of prevention must, consequently, assume the character of international agencies, deriving their support from the necessity of eliminating and curing the evils, and of removing the causes for their existence.

Hospitals, as curing stations; cleaning, sanitary and protective agencies, as institutions for prevention; the supply stations of water, light, and other means of public need are therefore joined together with the institutions of learning and with the agencies for recreation and amusement, into one great chain of international dependence, and are formed and maintained in the pursuit of functions preventive as well as beneficial as the promoters and protectors of public interests and universal weal.

FOUR CARDINAL FUNCTIONS.

Observe then how in the complex process of production of the necessities of life four cardinal functions comprise the interlocking chain of industrial activity, through which the resources of the earth must run before their ultimate use.

A. From the soil, the woods, and the waters all material required for producing purposes is secured by the labor of the millions serving in the social process in raising and procuring the raw products for food, raiment and shelter.

B. From the bowels and the treasures of the earth labor puts out the material for fuel and the essential things which, after being transformed, com-

prise the implements and [156] machinery of production and distribution.

C. With the matter thus furnished production proper for the providing of all necessary things of life and comfort is carried on in the various, but inter-depending places of production, mills and factories,

D. With all these things combined the constructive hand of labor builds the houses of shelter for the protection of life and matter against the adversities of nature's forces, and harnesses them to render service for social good.

LABOR THE SOLE PRODUCER.

To all of the making and development of these social institutions the workers, and they alone, contribute their intellect and their manual labor. They have created the instruments to produce wealth with, and improved them as time rolled by.

These institutions are organized in their operative functions to yield profits for a few who never did, nor do, contribute to their making and maintenance, except in a manner to protect them in the possession of things that they did not make.

The human forces rendering these instruments, agencies and implements useful to all society, and adding value to matter and forces of nature, are divorced from their creations by powerful combinations of parasitic nature, by which a few control all the co-ordinate stations of industrial life through the means that they have organized and subjected to their rulership. Against these hostile powers the workers must organize their own resources and their

own collective power, in organizations embracing all useful members of society and wealth producers.

[157]

THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

A labor organization to correctly represent the working class must have two things in view.

First: It must combine the wage-workers in such a way that it can most successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the workers of today in their struggles for fewer hours of toil, more wages and better conditions.

Secondly: It must offer a final solution of the labor problem—an emancipation from strikes, injunctions, bull-pens, and scabbing of one against the other.

Observe

How this organization will give recognition to control of shop affairs, provide perfect industrial unionism and converge the strength of all organized workers to a common center, from which any weak point can be strengthened and protected.

Observe, also,

How the growth and development of this organization will build within itself the structure of an industrial democracy, which must finally burst the shell of capitalist government and be the agency by which the workers will operate the industries and appropriate the products to themselves.

One Obligation for All.

A union man once and in one industry; a union man always and in all industries. Universal transfers, universal emblem.

All workers of one industry in one union; all unions of workers in one big labor alliance the world over.

Industrial unionism is not confined to one country. The best expression of it is found in America, in the Industrial Workers of the World, although the organization may appear to [158] be still weak, numerically. But the conditions for the advent of the industrial revolutionary union are most promising, because the most advanced and highly developed industrial system of production is bound to find its counterpart in a similarly perfected organization of the working class on the industrial field.

As presented in this booklet, these institutions for wealth production, so well organized, so masterfully constructed, suggest the best forms of industrial organizations for the workers.

Industries are organized in six big departments, which are composed of forty-three subdivisions.

This arrangement is not arbitrarily fixed, or the product of one man's notion. The best tabulations of statistical experts of different countries have been consulted, and the systematic arrangement will stand the test of scientific investigation.

Of course, it has been stated, and is herewith reiterated that this arrangement of industrial organization of workers would also assure the most effective solidarity of all producing forces in their defensive and aggressive struggles for the amelioration of the evils they suffer under, evils inherent in the capitalist system of distribution of the commodities created by labor.

When the workers organize industrial unions, copied from the institutions in which they are employed, they will be able to stand together as powerful industrial combinations in their skirmishes for better working conditions in any one industry. Not separated by craft divisions, or trade union contracts with the exploiters, they will not only be able to curtail [159] production on a small scale and thus also the profits of the employers of labor, but they will abruptly stop production altogether, if necessary, in any one industry, or in all industries of a locality, or of a nation, or they can, when they are powerful enough, shut the factories against the present employers and commence production for use.

The workers, though, must tear down, as a first duty to themselves, all craft demarcation lines, the remnants of a by-gone age. Unhampered by that drag-chain, they can then develop and organize their industrial power. But that power must be guided in its use and exercise by the collective intelligence which will develop simultaneously with the generation of power. Equipped with the power of an industrial organization, with the knowledge gained in the every-day struggles against the oppressors, they will successfully strive for a higher standard of life-conditions, within this system, and they can master things and forces so that they will reach the final goal of all efforts—complete industrial emancipation.

Hundreds of thousands of workers in every civilized country are learning to understand the principles of industrial unionism. Thousands are organizing for the battle of today, for better conditions, and

for the final clash in the future when the general lockout of the parasite class of non-producers will end the contest for industrial possessions and political supremacy.

If you are one of the millions needed to accomplish the task, join the industrial union composed of workers in the shop or plant where you work. If none exists, be the first to get busy. Get others, organize them. Learn to tackle the industrial problems. Show others how the workers will be able [160] to run the industrial plants through the agencies of their own creation, locally, nationally, internationally, the world over.

There are organizations everywhere, and where there are none, they will be formed. In the industrial union movement alone will the workers forge the sword, train themselves for the use of all and every weapon that can be utilized in the struggles for a better world. In the industrial union movement the workers will strictly adhere to the great axiom:

“The emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the working class itself.

“Workers of the World, Unite!”

Read the Manifesto, issued by the Industrial Workers of the World. Study the chart described in this pamphlet. Neatly printed on bond paper, 10c.

For information regarding the Industrial Workers of the World, referred to in this booklet, write to Wm. D. Haywood, General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill. [161]

Gen. No. 201,136.

Industrial Workers of the World

I. W. W.

Universal Label.

Name—Neil Guiney.

Address ———.

INDUSTRIAL
WORKERS OF THE
WORLD.
OFFICIAL MEMBERSHIP BOOK.

Issued by authority of the General Executive Board
of the I. W. W.

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.
General Secretary and Treasurer.
Industrial Workers of the World
I. W. W.

General Administration.

The member is entitled to work in any industry of this organization where employment is obtainable when stamps are affixed, [162] showing the member to be in good standing. To be in good standing a member must be paid for current month.

PREAMBLE.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class,

take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to [163] carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

“LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT
PRODUCES.”

Continuation Card
Industrial Workers of the World
I. W. W.

Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 500

(SEAL)

March 12th, 1917.

Spokane, Washington.

No money should be received without acknowledgment in this book. Members must see that the Financial Secretary places a stamp in the book for each month for which Dues or Assessments are paid.

Name—NEIL GUINEY

Initiated by Del. 341 #400.

Industrial Union No. 500.

Branch No. _____.

October 7, 1916.

_____,
Department.

Lumber Industry,

Lumber Jack, Occupation.

Ledger _____, Page _____.

NEIL GUINEY,
Fin. Sec'y.

Gen. No. 201136. [164]

TRANSFER RECORD.

Month—March.

Date—28.

Year—1917.

From Union No.—400.

To Union Number—500.

Secretaries on accepting members from other Unions must immediately notify the Union to which the member formerly belonged of the transfer.

FINANCIAL SECRETARY.

W. Moran Del. #1.

Members must transfer their membership to the Union in the industry where they work in compliance with the rules of the I. W. W. Constitution.

DUES year ending December, 1919.

(Two stamps attached in spaces marked respectively January and February.) Stamps read as follows: (First stamp) I. W. W. Seal; One Month Due Stamp; Paid Jan. 20, 1919. (Second stamp) I. W. W. Seal; One Month Due Stamp; Paid Jan. 20, 1919. [165]

H—1

San Francisco, Calif., May 3, 1919.

Fellow Worker:

Your letter made me feel somewhat Guilty about your Suite case. Also reminded me of when I was wondering if I had a dress to change when I was released.

Neal I am enclosing a key that I think belongs to you, I have two keys in my perse almost alike the other one is brass. I am pretty sure this one I am sending is yours.

Dont suppose you sent out any "Bombs" this May day, I didn't send out a single one ether, In-sted of "May Baskets" being found on door knobs these days. Its expect your parsel through the mail, eh:

It seems strange to me that one who knew how to make a Bomb So perfect wouldn't know enough to be positive of sufficient postage.

I am inclined to think if there were any Bombs mailed they were not mailed for the purpose of killing anyone, other then, perhaps a colloed Made.

It sounds like conspericy against international "Labor Day" which is an expression of international Brother-hood of the Workers, which is a much different thing then The Legue of Nations. Do you get any News from the out side?

I heard that Haywood was out on bond but dont know if there is any truth to it. Also that a number of the boys were released from Ellis Island.

As my sister is in the Hospital and I am taking care of her Kiddies I do not get in tuch with any of the Boys therefore dont hear much I. W. W. Gossip.

There has ben nothing done with the Spokane cases in-so-far as I know.

Give my regards to Lawranze and any other F/W that may hapen to be standing near you.

I heard that same story from (I guess) the Same Old Conductor. Once run from Milwaukee to some where, I heard it all in the City Jail.

Will close now and if this is poorely spelled Neal, Blame it on the "Portland Bulls" as they confiscated my dictionary with lots of other Such evidence of my

pro-German sympathy's, that I dont suppose I will ever get returned.

Hope this finds you knowing more about your future then when you wrote me.

I remain Yours for Freedom,

(Signed) KATE KIDWELL WILBUR,

14 Angelica St., S. F.

Baby Warren! Seeing me enclosing the key ask will that key turn him out of jail Aunt Kate? The first I knew of his knowledge of keys to Jails.

K. [166]

H—2.

Holland, Oregon, 4—27—19.

Neil Guiney

Friend and Fellow Worker

Yours of Apr. 19th received and note your are still a guess of our emigration authorities, they must like your company. received a letter from James Rowan. he says the bunch in Leavenworth are O. K also said there were 37 of the bunch admitted to bail there. was an emigration officer there who notified a bunch of them that they were to be deported when they had served there term of imprisonment, among the bunch who are to be deported are ten naturalized citizens Rowan is naturalized himself. he says he does not know when the rest will be admitted to bail I sure would like to see Rowan. Noran. and some more of them who have been in so long, get in the open for a while. Rowan is anxious to get some word from Spokane. but I do not get any mail from there, so have no word to send him, I see the A. F. of

L. is still working on the Mooney strike, if they go through with it they are all right. I personally do not put much stock in the California defence committee, or the A. F. of L. as a whole, they do not seem to be able to get together on any one plan of action, there are too many committies, all trying to function in their own capacity, and no solidarity of action, the Mooney strike in a way will determine our next move, as we are out of water and can do nothing, if the strike goes in to effect we may stay here, if not I will go to Seattle. Harry will go to Portland, but we both figure on being in here next Fall, Harry sends his regards. News are scarce so will close hoping they will make some move in your case I remain your Friend and Fellow Worker,

Yours for

Industrial Freedom,

F. M. DUGGAN,

Holland,

Josephine Co.

Oregon. [167]

H-3.

Leavenworth, Kansas, Apr. 23d, 1919.

Neil Guiney

Fellow Worker

Your letter of Feb 26th received all right and I will now take chances on writing you a few lines in reply, although you told me not to write before hearing from you again. I see that you have been selected as one of the victims of deportation. Well I am pretty much in the same position myself. Some time ago an official of the Bureau of immigration paid

us a visit, and read warrants to a bunch of us who were born in other countries, notifying us that we were to be deported. I was one of the bunch, notwithstanding the fact that I have been in this country for 21 yrs. and have been a citizen for over 12 yrs. The bonds are 1000 00 for this deportation proposition. Of course I understand this deportation will only be put into effect on us when we have finished our time, or in the event of an acquittal by the appeal. Well we should worry. No doubt you have heard that the bonds have been set for 36 of the Chi bunch, but so far none have gone out except St. John who went out last night. Got a letter from Hegge same time as I got yours. He is in New York working for a boss and seems to have recovered his health. Have not seen any financial reports of 500 since the Jan. report, but I hear they are doing good in the Superior Dist. and on the coast. Have not heard any word from the Spokane Dist for a long time and have no idea of what is doing there. Hear from Portland quite often, and it seems the Org. is far from dead there in spite of the closing of the hall. Yes I fully agree with you in what you say about halls. The closing of the halls might be the best thing that ever happened to the I. W. W. Well Neil, I guess you have read of the Sioux City convention, broken up once by a raid by the sheriff, but the end is not yet. By all accounts Hdq. in Chi is doing more business than ever before, and the Org. is getting a strong hold in the east. I think there is no doubt that W. Can. will go solid for the O. B. U. The outlook is fine and is getting better every day.

If they do deport us I guess we will manage to monkey along somehow, so whatever they do it is Jake with your uncle. Well old timer, drop us a line if you get this.

With best withes,
Your for the One Big Union,
(Signed) JAMES ROWAN. [168]

H-4

AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL
EMANCIPATION

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

Executive Board.

I

Organization

F. H. Little,
Francis Miller,
C. L. Lambert,
Wm. Wiertola,
Richard Brazier.

W*W
General
Administration.

at the
Source
of
Production.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

1001 W. Madison Street,
Chicago, Ill.

Wm. D. Haywood,
Gen. Sec.-Tres.

Telephone
Monroe 6228.
April 23, 1919.

Neil Guiney,
County Jail,
Portland, Ore.

Fellow Worker:

Your letter of April 18 received and note your proposition you wish the convention to take up in

regard to the Canadian situation and undoubtedly something will be done along those lines.

I referred your letter to the present G. E. B. and they say they would appreciate any report you would give as to the activities of the former G E B and general defense committee while you was on same.

A. W. I. U. #400 has been holding its convention in Sioux City and last night when they were almost through an armed mob closed the hall. There were no arrests or violence by the time they wired me. The Mayor stood up for them, but as usual going contrary to the economic power of that city couldn't do anything.

The Organization is growing all over, especially in the East where it has long been so stagnant. Everything looks bright for the future.

With best regards from all the office force, I remain

Yours for Industrial Solidarity,
(Signed) THOS. WHITEHEAD,
TW.J. Acting Secretary Treasurer. [169]

H-5

Superior May 1

Fellow Worker Neil Guiney yours at hand and carfully read. i sure have a lot of good News to tell you a hall is open in Misoulla and 104 More New Members from Canada \$300 one Dell sent in some check for one week oh Neil i sure wish this Election was over and i could go to Canada that is the teratory for you and me to look over this sumer and i feel sure they wont hold you mutch longer on no charge but then i think what has been done and i

have my doubts. Now as to dell there is three from Spokane Grady Scott Dailey three from here and one from Portland and one from Virginia Seattle will send some but Not many as they have only sent in 4 duplicates Now Neal i thought it was allright as Joe McMurphy come here and asked me to se i had a full representation i may have done wrong but i done it for the good of the orginazation i have a hard road to folow as i can plainley se but think i can get out all to the good and you are in very good standing i have hunted up all the reciepts and have the checks all but the one they ar holding in Chicago and will send you a Financial report of mine and one of yours as Soon as the Book Keeper can get one for you did you get the Papers and statment i registered to you I hope you did i will send you a O B U Monthly and Sol and Rebel Workers tonight as they just come from Chicago the O B U is a Peach and John Grady and tom Scott stayed here one day and went to chi last night some more goes to Night Say they say Frank Westerland is to speak in Duluth tonight i would like to hear him this town is on the Bum for sure i leave for chi sat Night for a few day 573 convention Pulled of all O K but look out for the Gen one some stool like in Porland will maby spring one on the Dell. say Neal I feel sure we was Tipped of that day and you cant never make me think eny other way i have done some tall thinking and it look to me so eny way and grady told me some things I can se into Now that fooled me sone i hope to meat you this sumer some where on the firing Line and have a long talk. strike still on the

Fortine steller? otter and Flathead and Wallace say it look good to hin wel will close hoping to hear from you soon hope you get Papers and O B U.

Yours for the O B U

(Signed) G H R [170]

H-6

54616/70

May 5, 1919.

Inspector in Charge,
Immigration Service,
Portland, Oregon.

Acknowledgment is made of the receipt of your letter of the 14th ultimo, No. 5040/30, transmitting record of hearing accorded Neil Guiney. After a review of the record the Bureau finds itself unable to reach a conclusion on the evidence as it now stands. It is, therefore, desired that the alien be accorded a further hearing and questioned thoroughly as to the kind of literature he has distributed while acting as secretary, organizer and delegate. It is probable that he may have distributed the book entitled "I. W. W. Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent," and this fact should be ascertained. The distribution of this book is sufficient to establish the charge of teaching and advocating the unlawful destruction of property. If possible, copies of sabotage pamphlets found to have been distributed by the alien should be secured and transmitted to the Bureau as exhibits, after identifying the same in the record.

EXACT COPY AS SIGNED BY ALFRED
HAMPTON MAY 5, 3, 19, by B.

HM. c/REM Assistant Commissioner General.

Received May 6, 1919. Bureau of Immigration
Law. [171]

H-7

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Immigration Service.

In answering refer to

No. 5040/30.

Office of Inspector in Charge

Portland, Oreg.

April 14th, 1919.

Hon. Commissioner-General of Immigration,
Washington, D. C.

Referring to Bureau file No. 54616/70, and Departmental arrest warrant of February 18th in the case of NEIL GUINEY, an I. W. W. whose deportation this office has recommended, I beg leave to forward herewith copy of a letter the alien has just written to one FRED HEGGE of 27 East Fourth Street, New York City. It is thought some of the statements and insinuations in this letter would be of interest to the Bureau.

The man Hegge is unquestionably one of the I. W. W. leaders, and if he proves to be an alien, it may be that the Bureau will see fit to instruct our New York office to institute deportation proceedings in his case. As of interest in this connection, there is inclosed herewith also the copy of a letter which came to our attention sometime since addressed to Hegge at the I. W. W. Headquarters, 1001 West

Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, by Nils Madsen from Kristiania, Norway, whither the latter, also an I. W. W. had been deported by this Department.

R. P. BONHAM,
Inspector in Charge.

W.F.W.:MAS.

W. F. W.

P. S.—Copy of letter from Guiney to Thomas Whitehead, Chicago, Ill., is also inclosed.

Apr. 21, 1919. Bureau of Immigration Law.
[172]

H-8

COPY.

County Jail, Portland, Ore., April 8-19.

Fred Hegge

N. Y. City.

Dear Fred: Received your ever so welcome letter today and you well know how much such a letter is appreciated by anyone in the can.

I do not yet know when my benevolent relative is going to finance my trip home. The hitch seems to come from the lack of information that will obtain proof that I am a Canadian. This I have so far refused to give, so they say that they will hold me here until I kick thru with same. I may be wrong, but from a close study of developments in the progress made by the rising proletariat the world over, I am of the opinion that I will last longer than this old jail will so I am going to stick it out.

In regards to my being arrested and held here, you will remember the G. O. C. decided to move Headquarters to Portland. After their decision all resigned excepting Rogers and left me practically alone to make the move(?) I asked Rogers to make

a thorough investigation of conditions here and he advised me to move at once. I did not at that time know Rogers personally or I would not have relied on his judgment, but would have made a personal investigation. However as the membership was clamoring for the move and having Roger's assurance that all was well I decided to bring everything with me. I got the stuff in here O. K. excepting the supply account cards, which disappeared with Wilson. I had an office going and was getting things in as good shape as possible, although I knew it was only a matter of days until I would be pinched. As soon as I met Rogers I was sorry that I had put any confidence in him, although I do not question his integrity in the least. All I will say about him is that he is not gifted with an oversupply of either shrewdness or ordinary intelligence. And besides that, I saw as soon as I arrived here that [173] the hall

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and vicinity was infested with stool-pigeons who represented at least three different outfits that are out to get us. These were creating factions and Rogers and several other members were falling for the worst of the whole outfit and were also losing control of things thru lack of ability to handle the situation. The worst of this work was the suspicion that was rife amongst the membership as everyone suspected everyone else and no one knew how to find out just who were the stools. But to get back to the way I was picked up. There were about five members knew where I had the office located. By a process of elimination I have narrowed this field

down to two who could have given me away. Of course there is a possibility that I was pointed out down on the street or in the hall, and then followed to the office, but as I had been in the office about two hours when the finks came in and got me this is not likely. Another thing that discourages that theory is the fact that one of the mugs that pinched me showed me the order he got from the chief to do so. This order was merely a note bearing my name and my right age (which not one man in a thousand guesses) and my description and telling him to bring me around. Besides that, the chief did not know me by sight a fact that I ascertained while in the station. Moreover, they did not know what position I held nor what my record was until after they got it from Idaho on the day after my arrest. No one in Portland except Rogers knew I was coming here and he would not tell anyone. He also planted all of his and my correspondence referring to the matter and most of the members here did not know for sure whether I had Headquarters here or was just here temporarily. In fact I don't think that the authorities knew anything about my being here until the day before [174] I was pinched so that again

H-10

everything points to the two parties I have previously mentioned. If these guys are stools, they are not actually working for the local authorities, but may be in touch with them or their stools. There are two outfits in Seattle that I got wind of while there on my way West who are planting stools in all the logging camps to tip off all the "alien agitators"

to the Immigration authorities and it is for one of these that my two birds may be working. It is a cinch that the ones that stooled on me knew me and if I can get my liberty for a week or so to do a little stool work on my own hook I will know them also. But with all of their machinery it took them ten days to find me. Besides that, the records were moved out of town again and I believe are still safe. George Ricker is now acting Secretary and H. G. is located in Superior. You see Ricker was a delegate to the convention which was being held at the time of my arrest and he was nominated from the floor untill such time as ballots could be got out and a Sec. elected in the proper manner. Ballots are now out and a Sec. will be in in about two weeks more.

I am getting along fine and dandy although I do not hear much news of the North-West. As the members around here do not want to write and tip off their whereabouts I have to rely on reports from other parts of the country. Some of my friends come up here once in a while to see me but cannot give me much organization news. However, as far as I can see things are shaping our way fast in this man's country. The reports you see in our papers are not in the least overdrawn and if the rest of the country was in as good shape as the Northwest, we would be able to open [175] all jail doors in the

H-11

country by word only. Keep your eye on the North West. Give my best to Lorna and be sure to write once in a while. I made this some lengthy but I

hope you will excuse me this time.

As ever, Yours for the O. B. U.

(Signed) NEIL GUINEY.

P. S.—I might also add that the Portland Police have cleaned up the mess caused by their stools here by closing the hall and giving the stools no place to roost. I am for giving them a note of thanks.

N. G.

Envelope addressed as follows:

Mr. Fred Hegge,
27 East Fourth Street,
New York City. [176]

H-12

Kristiania Norway, Nov. 28-18.'

Fred Hegge

1001 West Madison St

Chicago Ill.

Fellow Worker & Friend

I arrived here in good shape and am with good health. We had a fine trip across. I found my sister in this city and am staying with her for the present. I have spoken to a few of our comrades and am going to speak on Friday next week. You can be sure it is a very inspiring time over here. The only thing which makes it bad for me is my financial situation. If you could spare a few beans it would give me more show to work for our Idea. You may take this up with some of the fellow workers over there. I was clean when I come here did not have a cent. Be sure that things are going fine and dandy. It would be nice if you could send me some literature of all kinds. I will send you a more news letter

latter on. I am going to write to some of the boys at Leavenworth.

With best wishes to you I remain
Yours for Industrial freedom

NILS MADSEN.

Adr Bertrand Pettersen

Bjerregaard gade No. 13 IIII

Kristiania Norway. [177]

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Envelope addressed as follows:

Thos. Whitehead
1001 W. Madison St.
Chicago, Ill.

County Jail, Portland, Ore.

Thos. Whitehead
Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Workers: Yours of the 2nd to hand and note the action taken by the C. R. N. in regards to my loss there. I guess it serves me right for trying to help them out. In future I will confine my good samaritan tendencies to helping out the I. W. W.'s only. I wish you would tell them so.

I am glad to note that you have 500 fixed up in regard to credentials.

In regards to my being held here, mine is a peculiar case. Although I am a Canadian, there is no way of proving it except by my word. At least that is the only things the authorities have to go on so far. They want me to give them some information as to how to get the necessary proof and I will not do so. In order to be able to send me over they have to show proof to the Canadian authorities that I am a Cana-

dian. So that I have them in about the same fix as they have me. They have threatened to hold me here for an indefinite period, but I guess that I can stay here as long as they can keep me.

I note that a bunch of Leavenworth boys are to be turned loose shortly on bonds and I am glad of that. Give them all my best wishes when they come to Chi. That is all I am able to give them right now.

I see that you have a new steno. What has become of Kate?

Remember me to all the office force and tell Miss Serviss to take some Old Taylor for me.

With best wishes I remain as ever,

Yours for the O. B. U.

NEIL GUINEY. [178]

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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. HBL.

Bureau of Investigation, EBH.

Washington.

Address Reply to

Chief, Bureau of Investigation,

And refer to initials,

HBL.

HBL.

April 16, 1919.

Hon. Anthony Caminetti,

Commissioner General of Immigration,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Attention Mr. McClelland.

For your information and assistance, I send you photostat copy of an abstract concerning Neil

Guiney now alleged to be in jail near Portland, Oregon. According to our statement he is at present awaiting the decision of the Immigration authorities as to whether or not he shall be deported.

Yours very truly,

W. E. ALLEN,

Acting Chief.

Enc.

Received Apr. 19, 1919. Bureau of Immigration.

Law.

Law Section for Appropriate Action and Reply.

W. L. G. [179]

H-15

ALIENS FOR DEPORTATION.

Guiney (or Ginney) Neil.

Chicago, Ill. (1918-1919).

Portland, Oregon (1919).

St. Maries, Idaho (1917-1918).

1814 N. Third Street, Superior, Wisconsin (1918).

254046 (Neil Guiney).

See 36190 (Haywood file).

See D. file 186701-66 (In re fees at Idaho trial, 1918).

Anarchist, I. W. W. delegate and agitator. Sent to Portland, Oregon (1919) from Chicago by I. W. W., having with him \$1300 and books of No. 500 Timberworkers' Union. Arrested by local authorities. Interviewed by Agent Bryon. Born in British Columbia (Lilloet), February 3, 1890. Entered U. S. from British Columbia through Gateway, Montana, January 5, 1912, 5 ft. 7 inches in height, wt. 135 pounds. One brother, Bernard Guiney, in France (1917). Occupation—farmer (8 seasons), fire-fighter (2 seasons), lumberman (13 seasons),

teamster (4 yrs.). Common school education. Never voted in U. S.; sound health. Claimed exemption (1917) from military service. No papers. Unwilling to return to British Columbia. Classified by local board (St. Maries, Idaho) as Class V. Division F. (See Agent P. R. Hilliard's report, Chicago, March 8, 1919). In jail 4 mos. at St. Maries (1918). Turned over to Immigration authorities at Portland, who have requested warrant for deportation. In Multnomah County jail. See Agent Bryon's report, February 17, 1919. In correspondence with James Rowan, Spokane, Washington, July, [180]

H-16

1917. Case of State of Idaho vs. Neil Guiney for criminal syndicalism instituted at St. Maries July, 1917. (Agent Watt's report, October 21). Copy of complaint in Hilliard's report, January 27, 1919. Convicted and in prison, Idaho State Penitentiary, Winter or Spring, 1917-1918. Intimated (June, 1918) he would go to Montreal and Quebec from Superior, Wisconsin. In Chicago April 20 and November 11, 1918; also active in Chicago (100 N. Madison Street) January 1919. Not a defendant in Haywood case. Activities largely in Northwest over period of about three years (1915-1918). Regarded as a nuisance. (Hilliard's report January 27, 1919). Probably traces of this man in Haywood file No. 36190 (not specially examined). Copy of this abstract to Bureau of Immigration, with letter, 4-14-19. [181]

H-17.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Immigration Service.

Office of Inspector in Charge
Portland, Oreg.

In answering refer to
No. 5040/30.

March 21st, 1919.

Commissioner of Immigration,
Seattle, Washington.

I inclose herewith copy of a letter just received this morning addressed to Neil Guiney, an alien I. W. W. now held in the county jail by this Service for probable deportation to Canada.

The letter is written at Spokane by one Dennis Kelleher who gives his address as Box 327, Hillyard, Washington. This man is presumably an active member or delegate in the I. W. W., and if he proves to be an alien, it is presumed that you may desire to institute deportation proceedings. This information is given you for whatever action you deem proper.

W. F. WATKINS,
Acting Inspector in Charge.

WFW:MAS.

Received Mar. 27, 1919.

Bureau of Immigration Law. [182]

H-18.

DUPLICATE.

Spokane, Wash., Mar. 18.

Neal Guiney,

Fellow Worker.

John Grady showed me your letter to him and was surprised to hear that you were not getting any tobacco or any relief down there what in Hell kind of a bunch is there.

John Grady said he would look after that and I am shure he will for he is pretty hard to beat at that.

Tom is hear working he would not go East he dont like the old man. I have not heard from Geo. sence he left I am expecting a letter any time now.

As to Gen. Con. that is the first time I heard about it I will jar his memory about it and also the G.E.B. It is a wonder that they have not informed me I hear from them every other day.

Well Neal the slaves are taking to the O.B.U. like a duck to water I look for the greatest summer we have ever known every where you look the slaves are discontented.

So keep up spirits old top if there was no percution we would not be on the right road. but still our Union grown then some day things will change. Say where do you get that illustrious Gentleman stuff I have been called everything on Earth before but that.

Say do you know anything about \$1250 that was

sent to you at Chicago from Enaville Ida about Jan 28/19.

Please inform me.

Yours for the O. B. U.

(Signed) DENNIS KELLEHER.

Box 327. Hillyard

Wash. [183]

H-19.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Immigration Service.

In answering refer to

No. 5040/30.

Office of Inspector in Charge.

Portland, Oreg.

March 6th, 1919.

Hon. Commissioner-General of Immigration,

Washington, D. C.

Herewith please find complete record of hearing and exhibits in the case of NEIL GUINEY, arrested by virtue of Department's Warrant No. 54616/70. Your attention is respectfully invited to the comprehensive report of Inspector Watkins who conducted the hearing, and in whose recommendation that this alien be deported to Canada, I most earnestly concur.

Neil Guiney is one of the most active and dangerous exponents of the doctrines of the Industrial Workers of the World with whom we have come in contact. He is not only subject to deportation under the Act of October, 1918, as being a member of an organization teaching the unlawful destruction

of property and the overthrow of our Government and institutions, but by his prominent connection and leadership in the I. W. W. he has most certainly taught and advocated these doctrines as an individual. His arrest, because of his leadership in the organization, was very disconcerting to them, and interfered to a considerable extent with the spreading of their pernicious propaganda in the Northwest. His deportation would tend to have salutary effect, and is much to be desired.

R. P. BONHAM,
Inspector in Charge.

RPB:MAS. [184]

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(COPY.)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.
Immigration Service.

In answering refer to
No. 5040/30.

Office of Inspector in Charge.
Portland, Oregon.
March 6, 1919.

Inspector in Charge,
Portland, Oregon.

Inclosed please find complete record of hearing and evidence in the case of NEIL GUINEY, subject of Departmental Arrest Warrant of the 18th ult., No. 54616/70, charging said alien with advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property. In addition to the charge as contained in the warrant, I formally charged the alien with being a member of, or affiliated with, an organization that

advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property, i. e., the I. W. W.

This alien is twenty-nine years old and claims Canadian nationality through birth at Lillooet, B. C. His regular occupation is that of a logger, which he has followed for a number of years past on both the American and Canadian sides of the line. According to his statement, Guiney became a member of the Industrial Workers of the World in October, 1916, and has in turn served in said organization as stationary delegate, branch secretary, traveling delegate and union secretary, which latter position he occupied when recently arrested by the police here. In further proof of Guiney's connection with the I. W. W., his membership card is made a part of this record.

The notorious and unlawful practices for which this organization has been responsible through its members, and which it has openly advocated are so well-known and numerous as to hardly require any extended comment. It is a well-established fact, I believe, that the I. W. W. has long advocated "direct action," sabotage, destruction of property if necessary, and [185] various other means of

H-21.

(COPY)

5040/30.

3/6/19.

gaining the objects sought. In the well-known case of the United States vs. Swelgin, Federal Judge Wolverton of this District held, in effect, some time since that the I. W. W. is "an anarchistic organization opposed to all forms of government, advocat-

ing lawlessness, owing no allegiance to any organized government, and that its adherents are anti-patriotic." The alien, Guiney, is not merely a member of the I. W. W.; he holds an important office in the organization, being Secretary of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, No. 500 (having a membership of about 35,000), is a very intelligent individual, and, of course, thoroughly understands the workings of the organization, though clever enough to deny that its teachings come within the prohibition of law. In support of his claim that the I. W. W. does not advocate the unlawful destruction of property, the alien has submitted a resolution denying such advocacy, which is signed by Wm. D. Haywood. This is the same Haywood who, with about one hundred other I. W. W. members, was recently convicted at Chicago of violation of the Espionage Law. I have included with the record some letters from certain of Guiney's personal friends now serving sentences for violation of the Espionage Law, criminal syndicalism, etc., as showing the character of his associates in the I. W. W. Guiney admits his own arrest and prosecution in the State of Idaho on the charge of criminal syndicalism, but claims that, after spending four months in jail awaiting trial, he was finally acquitted by the jury.

This alien, as an officer of the I. W. W., has had a very active part in the spreading of its propaganda, and in the distribution of its literature, and has been very instrumental in furthering its principles and doctrines. His anti-patriotism is proved

by his failure to return to Canada to enlist himself with the Military Forces of his native country, and [186] claiming exemption on this side of the line

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(COPY.)

5040/30

3/6/19.

by reason of being an alien, thereby securing exemption from service in the U. S. Army. Guiney alleges that he has purchased no Liberty Bonds or otherwise supported this Government in the war in a financial way, although admitting that he has no dependents. I believe that the charges against this alien have been fully substantiated, and therefore desire to strongly recommend his deportation to Canada, the country of his nativity and of which he is still a subject.

It has been very difficult in this case, owing to Guiney's obstinacy and apparent distaste for deportation, to secure reliable information as to his birth and residence in Canada. The record of hearing contains all the information that I was able to secure from him on the subject. You will note that he claims to have a younger brother, Bernard Guiney, who is said to have enlisted with the Canadian Over-Seas Forces from Winnepeg. Guiney admitted to me that he has relatives and friends in British Columbia and Alberta through whom his Canadian citizenship might be established, but he steadfastly refuses to divulge their identity or exact whereabouts. I would suggest that the alien's photograph be furnished the Canadian authorities for

their assistance in investigation of this alien's nationality.

W. F. WATKINS,
Immigrant Inspector.

WFW:MAS. [187]

H-23.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.

Immigration Service.

REPORT OF HEARING

in the Case of

NEIL GUINEY,

Under Department Telegraphic Warrant No. —, dated February 18, 1919.

Hearing conducted by W. F. Watkins, Immigrant Inspector, at office of Inspector in Charge, Portland, Oregon, on February 20th, 1919.

Minutes taken and transcribed by Margaret A. Scott, Junior Clerk.

Said Neil Guiney being able to speak and understand the English language satisfactorily, an interpreter, competent in ——— was not employed.

Said Neil Guiney was then informed that the purpose of said hearing was to afford him an opportunity to show cause why he should not be deported to the country whence he came, said warrant of arrest being read, and each and every allegation therein contained carefully explained to him. Said person was then offered an opportunity to inspect the warrant of arrest and the evidence upon which it was issued, which privilege was ——— accepted; and alien being first duly sworn ———, the following evidence was then and there presented.

Q. What is your name? A. Neil Guiney.

Q. Where were you born? A. Lillooet, B. C.

Q. What was the date of your birth?

A. February 3d, 1890. [188]

H-24.

(COPY)

Q. In addition to the charge in the formal warrant, I charge you with being a member of, or affiliated with, an organization that advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property.

Q. You are now twenty-nine years old, are you?

A. I am.

Q. Married or single? A. Single.

Q. Have you ever been naturalized in any country? A. No.

Q. You are still a subject of Canada, are you?

A. Yes.

Q. Where was your father born? A. Ireland.

Q. Are your father and mother living?

A. No, neither one.

Q. Have you any brothers living in this country or in Canada? A. No.

Q. Have you any relatives whatsoever in Canada?

A. Distant relatives only.

Q. Is there any way of proving your birth in Canada?

A. I presume so. I guess they have birth records.

Q. How large is Lillooet, B. C.?

A. Small town. It used to be a trading-post on the Caribou Road.

Q. Do you know anyone in Lillooet who knows of your birth there?

A. I don't think so. Let's see. I don't know who is in Lillooet now.

Q. How long since you have been in Lillooet?

A. About nineteen years.

Q. Where did you live after you left Lillooet?

A. Sudbury, Ontario.

Q. How long did you live there?

A. About three years, nearly four years. Then I went to work in the woods. The first time I came into this country was in 1906 or '07. I have been back and forth across the line since then on various occasions. In the spring and early summer of 1911 I worked for the Crows' Nest Lumber Company. I drove for them on the Kootenay River. They had their headquarters at Wardner, B. C. I started in at a place called Wasa, a road-house about forty miles above [189] Wardner. In the late sum-

NEIL GUINEY (2)

H-25.

mer of 1911 I worked in the woods for the Adolph Lumber Company, at Baynes Lake, B. C. The camp was located near Elko, then Baynes Lake. I worked for a lumber company at Moyer, B. C., in the winter of 1911. Then I came across to this side. I was over here about five months, with the Humbird Lumber Company, out of Sandpoint, Idaho. Then I went back to Canada again and went up north, up around Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. I was up there around in January, 1913. I was working for Kenney Brothers, contractors, east of Prince

Albert on the Canadian Northern, at Mafeking, Manitoba, but before that I worked at the Prince Albert Lumber Company on the Sturgeon River. I left there along in January, 1913, and came from there to Edmonton, Alberta. I didn't work there and went from there to Fernia, B. C., and back to this side. I came over here along in the spring of 1913, and worked for contractors, Skinner & Held, twenty-two miles out of Troy, Montana. They were contracting for the Bonners Ferry Lumber Company at an old mining camp called Sylvanite. Then I worked for a contractor named Case, at Clarkes Forks, Idaho, then for Stack & Gibbs on the north fork of the Coeur d'Alene River, Idaho—driving logs, then working for the Black Foot Lumber Company, Missoula, Montana. Then I went to the harvest fields in Dakota. Since that time I have been working at various places on the United States side of the line, mostly in logging camps except in harvest time when I have been in the harvest fields every fall.

Q. When was your last entry into the United States?

A. In the spring of 1913, either February or March. I think March.

Q. Where did you cross the line?

A. Gateway, Montana, by the Great Northern Railroad.

Q. Were you inspected by the United States Immigration [190] authorities then?

NEIL GUINEY (3)

H-26.

A. No, merely asked me where I was going, where I belonged and how much money I had. The inspector who examined me was an old fellow with one eye bad, or gone, and he used to let lumber jacks by without much questioning because we traveled back and forth so much they didn't pay much attention at that time.

Q. Did you tell the inspector that you were a Canadian? A. Yes.

Q. Were you asked whether or not you were coming for a temporary or permanent residence?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you tell him?

A. I told him I didn't think I was going to stay over here.

Q. What is your religion?

A. My folks were Roman Catholics.

Q. Do you know whether or not you were baptized in any church in Lillooet?

A. Well, you want to understand that there was no established church there then. There were Indian missions throughout the country and the priests used to make the rounds, and I presume I was baptized.

Q. Would there be a record of your baptism?

A. Yes, in Victoria. I think there is, anyhow, because that's where the records were kept in those days.

Q. Do you know whether or not your birth was recorded with any public office?

A. I never tried to find out. Guess it was, though.

Q. Have you ever voted in Canada? A. No.

Q. Is there any way in which you can prove your Canadian citizenship?

A. I have been trying to figure that out. I don't know of any way, unless you can find my birth record. My mother died about twenty-five years ago. My father, at the time of his death, about ten years ago, was a construction foreman in charge of a crew on the Algoma Central Railroad, out of St. Mary's, Ontario. [191]

NEIL GUINEY (4)

H-27.

Q. What is your occupation? A. Lumber jack.

Q. Are you working at that trade at the present time? A. No.

Q. What are you doing now?

A. Secretary for the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W.

Q. How long have you been a member of the I. W. W.? A. Since October 7th, 1916.

Q. How long have you been a secretary in that organization?

A. Since the latter part of September, 1918,—first of October. That is, secretary of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union.

Q. Did you hold any position in the organization prior to last fall?

A. Yes, I was stationary delegate, branch secretary and traveling delegate.

Q. Where are your headquarters?

A. Right here, now.

Q. How long have you been in Portland?

A. Since the tenth or eleventh of February.

Q. As Secretary of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W. you are in charge of the union headquarters here? A. I am.

Q. You had just opened up your offices when you were arrested by the police, had you not? A. Yes.

Q. How large a membership have you in the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union?

A. Our records will show about thirty-five thousand members. That includes the membership in the United States and Canada.

Q. And this one union, 500, covers the whole territory, does it? A. Covers the lumber industry.

Q. Are you in the pay of the Industrial Workers of the World?

A. I am, or was when I was arrested. I am not being paid now because I am not functioning.

Q. What is your salary?

A. Twenty-eight dollars a week.

Q. Does this account-book with the Hibernia Savings Bank representing a deposit of \$1,300 in your name on February 11th, 1919, represent your own money or that of the I. W. W.? [192]

NEIL GUINEY (5)

H-28.

A. The I. W. W. (Account book returned to Guiney.)

Q. Is this your I. W. W. membership card, No. 201,136? A. Yes, that's it.

Q. Were you registered under the Selective Service Law? A. Yes.

(Exhibits classification card of local board for Benewah County, St. Maries, Idaho, in the name of Neil Guiney, Order No. 359, Serial No. 48. Classified and recorded in Class V.)

Q. How did you come to be placed in Class V?

A. As an alien.

Q. Did you claim exemption because of your being an alien? A. Yes.

Q. Have you anyone dependent upon you for support? A. No.

Q. Why did you not return to Canada and serve in the military forces of that country during the war?

A. I don't know as there was any special reason why I didn't.

Q. Merely that you didn't wish to go to war?

A. That's the only reason.

Q. Have you been back to Canada since 1913?

A. No.

Q. Under what name were you employed at these various places in Canada and the United States?

A. Under my own name all the time.

Q. The charge as contained in the warrant of arrest has been read and carefully explained to you, what have you to say as to that charge?

A. Why, in the first place I do not myself, nor to the best of my knowledge does the organization to which I belong, advocate either the overthrow of the United States Government or of any other government by either violence or any other means. Neither does it advocate the assassination of any official of this Government or of any other government,

nor does it advocate the assassination of anybody whatsoever. I do not advocate, nor to the best of my knowledge does the organization to which I belong advocate, the unlawful destruction of property in any way whatsoever. [193] I am not a crimi-

NEIL GUINEY (6)

H-29

nal, nor is the organization to which I belong a criminal organization, to the best of my knowledge.

Q. As Secretary of the Lumber Workers' Union of the I. W. W., just what are your duties?

A. Why, to look after the accounts of the organization, that is, the lumber workers' part of it, and look after the funds of the organization. To supervise the work of organization, keep in touch with the members, answer correspondence, and so on.

Q. It is part of your work to superintend the distribution of the I. W. W. literature among the members of your organization, is it not?

A. Yes.

Q. And, of course, as an officer of that organization, and carrying out its work, you are, I take it you are, in sympathy with the literature and propaganda they *out* out?

A. Yes, to a large extent. There are some views that some writers take which I don't agree with, but as a whole with the object and aims of the I. W. W., as set forth in its preamble and much of its literature, I am thoroughly in accord.

Q. You are in accord with the preamble and constitution of the I. W. W.?

A. Not with the constitution. There are some

technical points that I do not agree with, and if I am ever present at any convention of the I. W. W., will do my best to have them changed, but, of course, the constitution itself has nothing to do with the principles of the organization, as the constitution is merely a form of carrying on work.

Q. Having a leading part in the distribution of the literature of this organization, you are doubtless familiar with their various teachings and propaganda, some of which I quote as follows: "As a revolutionary organization, the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that [194]

NEIL GUINEY (7)

H-30.

will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us. . . . Failing to force concessions from the employers by the strike, work is resumed and 'sabotage' is used to force the employers to concede the demands of the workers." On the subject of sabotage the following is quoted: "If you are an engineer you can, with two cents' worth of powdered stone or a pinch of sand, stall your machine, cause a loss of time, or make expensive repairs necessary. If you are a joiner or woodworker, what is simpler than to ruin furniture without your boss noticing it, and thereby drive his customers away. A garment-worker can easily spoil a suit or a bolt of cloth. If you are working in a department store, a few spots on a fabric cause it

to be sold for next to nothing. A grocery clerk, by packing up goods carelessly, brings about a smash-up. In the woolen or haberdashery trade, a few drops of acid on the goods you are wrapping will make the customer furious. An agricultural laborer may sow bad wheat in wheat fields, etc." Another excerpt from Vincent St. John's pamphlet reads as follows: "Interference by the Government is resented by open violation of the Government's orders, going to jail *en masse*, causing expense to the taxpayers—which is but another name for the employing class." "In short, the I. W. W. advocates the use of militant 'direct action' tactics to the full extent of our power to make good." What [195] have you to say to those teachings?

NEIL GUINEY (8)

H-31.

A. Well, we will take them up *seriatim*. "As a revolutionary organization, The Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy." But "any and all tactics" does not necessarily mean destruction, overthrow of government, or assassination. In the first place, violence is a weapon of weakness, and when you use violence or destruction, you show that you are weaker than the other class, and in the end only invite destruction upon yourself. The question of "right" and "wrong." "Right" and "wrong" are relative terms, or in other words it is merely a matter of viewpoint. What the working class would

consider "right" for them, such as higher wages, shorter hours, better working conditions, etc., might be looked upon by the employing class as entirely "wrong" because it means decreased profits. Now, the only question for the working class to consider as a class is, "Are better wages, better working conditions, more food, clothing, shelter for ourselves, better chance to educate our children, etc., 'right' for us, if so, let us have them." If that means tying up an employer's factory, or his industry, whatever it is, causing him loss of money, which he considers "wrong," all we have got to consider is whether the "right" on our side outweighs the "wrong" on his. I want to make a definite statement regarding sabotage and the I. W. W. Up to the spring of 1918 various individuals, some of them members of the I. W. W., some who had never heard of the I. W. W., advocated sabotage as a weapon of offense and defense for the working classes. During this period no official action had been taken by the I. W. W. in respect to sabotage, some of them liking it, others

NEIL GUINEY (9)

H-32

did [196] not. Many of them advocated it and at various instances it was used, but in view of the fact that the use of sabotage, or the advocating of sabotage, was reflecting upon us, and threatening to become a boomerang against us as an organization, in April, 1919, the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. took a definite stand in regard to sabotage. This is in the form of a resolution signed by William D. Haywood, Francis Miller and C. L.

Lambert, stating that, on account of the distorted meaning that had been given to the word sabotage, and also on account of the fact that the capitalist papers were using the word sabotage to create a boggy man of the I. W. W., with which to scare the people, that the I. W. W., from that time on, should go on record as being opposed to sabotage, and that we would destroy all literature on hand in any part of the organization which taught or advocated sabotage. This has been done, and I am prepared at any time to produce a copy of this resolution which has been circulated broadcast by various officers of the I. W. W. Since being in office myself, I have not handled any sabotage literature, neither have I handled the pamphlet by Vincent St. John, from which excerpts have been read into this record.

Q. You do not deny that the I. W. W. organization has advocated the unlawful destruction of property? A. I do deny it, yes.

Q. Do you deny that sand or emery dust dropped into a machine is not injurious to the machinery, or that other similar practices which the I. W. W. have advocated are not destructive?

A. I want to deny that the I. W. W. ever advocated them as an organization. As a matter of fact, I covered that in my previous statement, that the I. W. W. as an organization never took any official stand on that matter. [197]

NEIL GUINEY (10)

H-33

Q. Do you deny that the propaganda and literature, and the pamphlets, posters and stickers scat-

tered broadcast by the I. W. W. have not taught or advocated any sort of lawlessness, or destruction of property?

A. Well, that depends on what you mean by being scattered by the I. W. W. Do you mean our official literature, or pamphlets written or circulated by members of the I. W. W.?

Q. The pamphlet issued by Vincent St. John bears the I. W. W. label, and I take it is an official document of that organization.

A. That is the universal label that is known as the "Union Bug." It is not official.

Q. Why is this pamphlet that you claim as unofficial found in all I. W. W. halls and reading rooms?

A. Why, it was written by Vincent St. John and Vincent St. John was in close touch with the I. W. W.

Q. He is an authority on I. W. W. history, structure, and methods, is he not? A. Yes.

Q. And anything that he wrote as to its history, tactics, etc., would be just about correct, wouldn't it?

A. Up to the time that he left the organization.

Q. This pamphlet is printed as having been revised in 1917? A. Yes.

Q. Do you claim that the organization has changed some of its tactics since that time? A. I do.

Q. Do you believe in the efficacy of this sticker: "Bolsheviki means majority. Who are the Majority? The Workers. Let the Workers Rule this Nation. Join the I. W. W."

A. Why, that question is rather crudely put. I believe in majority rule. As a matter of fact, I

think the actual meaning of the word "democracy" means majority rule.

Q. Are you in sympathy with the Bolshevik party in Russia, and their practices?

NEIL GUINEY (11) [198]

H-34

A. Why, as a working man, I am in sympathy with any effort made by the working class to better their conditions as a class. As to the Bolsheviki themselves, I do not know enough about it to make a definite statement.

Q. Are you in sympathy with any means by which desired ends might be gained for the working class, be they lawful or unlawful? A. Why, no.

Q. Do you believe in sabotage as it has been practiced by the I. W. W. members?

A. I do not believe in sabotage, whether as a weapon used by the working class or used against them. As a matter of fact it has been used against them more than it has ever been used by them.

Q. I will show you a verse entitled, "The Call of the Lumber Camp," bearing a postscript by someone signing initials "TEH."

A. A young fellow named T. E. Hawkins.

Q. Where is he now?

A. In the Idaho State Penitentiary, now.

Q. What is he serving time for?

A. Criminal syndicalism.

Q. Have you ever been arrested in the United States prior to this time?

A. Yes, I was arrested on Friday, July 13th, 1917, for a charge of criminal syndicalism.

Q. Whereabouts? A. St. Maries, Idaho.

Q. Were you convicted? A. No.

Q. Were you in jail awaiting trial?

A. Yes, four months and thirteen days before I had a trial. Trial lasted nine days, and I was held eight days after I was acquitted, making four months and seventeen days altogether.

NEIL GUINEY (12) [199]

H-35

Q. Do you identify this letter, written at Fulton, Louisiana, on February 3d, 1918, to you by J. F. Beal? A. Yes.

Q. In this letter the suggestion is made that lots of delegates be sent for organization purposes so that when some "get grabbed" there will be more to take their places. Why does the writer anticipate that the delegates are going to get grabbed?

A. Because as a rule they are grabbed.

Q. You mean they run afoul of the officers of the law?

A. Yes, or the officers of the law run afoul of them.

Q. I show you a newspaper clipping which was in your possession, apparently appearing in an Idaho paper, giving a list of aliens, or alien enemies, who have either revoked their first papers, or have never taken out first papers, and who have claimed exemption from military service. The name, Neil Guiney, appears in this list. Does that refer to you?

A. I presume it does.

Q. Have you been arrested upon any other occasions in this country? A. No.

Q. Are you an anarchist?

A. No, I am not an anarchist of any character.

Q. Are you a socialist?

A. Only in belief. I am not a member of the Socialist party.

Q. You are entitled to the privilege of counsel in this hearing who may be present from this time on and represent you. Do you desire to avail yourself of this privilege? A. No.

Q. Have you any reason or argument to offer as to why you should not be deported to Canada on the charges appearing in the warrant?

NEIL GUINEY (13) [200]

H-36

A. Well, there are quite a few ways of looking at that. In the first place I do not consider myself a criminal. I am not, to the best of my knowledge violating any of your laws, neither am I diseased in any way or insane, I don't think. I am not a degenerate of any kind. I am not an anarchist. I have not opposed the United States Government in any way nor advocated opposition to the United States Government. Neither have I advocated violation of any of the laws of this country, nor the assassination of any of the citizens of this country or of any other country.

Q. Do you believe that Haywood and the rest of the one hundred defendants at Chicago were guilty of the violation of law, as convicted?

A. No, I don't believe that.

Q. Or the forty-odd I. W. W. members at Sacramento, California?

A. No. Of course, I am saying that in a broad

way. I am not prepared to say that not any of the forty were guilty of such violation, but owing to the fact that the feeling was so hot in both instances outside of the courts, a feeling created by the press itself which is in reality the mold of public opinion, there is no jury on earth would dare to acquit a bunch of I. W. W.'s, regardless of what they were charged with, for the simple reason that they knew that if ever they went back to their homes, the towns from which they came, after having acquitted these men, they would be subjected to the same form of persecution to which the average I. W. W. organizer is subjected. For instance the lynching of Frank Little, the tar and feathering of our members at Tulsa, Oklahoma, and the whipping of eighteen of our members at Red Lodge, Montana, and many other instances.

Q. Have you any further statement to make?

A. Only this, that I came to this country as a Canadian. I absorbed my radical ideas in this country.
NEIL GUINEY (14) [201]

H-37

try, and you want now to deport me for having those ideas. You can take me out of the country, but that won't take my ideas out of my head. Instead of stopping the spread of those ideas you will be helping me spread them, because I will take them with me wherever I go. Furthermore, if my ideas are a menace to this country and I have absorbed them in this country, why should you try to force such a menace on any other country? This is merely stating a reason, understand, why I should

not be deported, not that I care very much where I am.

(Note: It is noted that a number of I. W. W.'s recently arrested at Portland are making this same plea. Evidently they have had a rehearsal.—HMC.)

Q. Do you oppose deportation?

A. Yes, surely.

Q. Have you a brother?

A. I have a younger brother, Bernard Guiney, who enlisted with the Canadian Overseas Forces from Winnipeg. I don't know whether he is still living or not, nor in what branch of the service he enlisted.

(Signed) NEIL GUINEY.

Certified true transcript.

MARGARET A. SCOTT,

Junior Clerk.

March 4th, 1919.

Hearing continued in Multnomah County Jail at Portland, Oregon, on March 14th, 1919.

Present: W. F. WATKINS, Examining Inspector.

MARGARET A. SCOTT, Junior Clerk.

WITNESS, duly sworn, testifies as follows:

Q. Do you know Otto Elsner, signing himself No. 293,458, who writes you a letter from Sacramento, dated January 21st, 1919?

NEIL GUINEY (15) [202]

H-38.

A. Only by correspondence. I have met him once or twice.

Q. Was he one of the I. W. W. members convicted at Sacramento recently? A. Yes.

Q. Are you acquainted with the author of this letter written to you from "B. C., Canada," dated February 3d, 1919, signed "Delegate 366"?

A. I am acquainted by correspondence.

Q. What is the name of the party who writes this letter? A. That I refuse to state.

Q. I quote a part of his letter as follows: "Your letter of December 18th just at hand today. I see where the authorities turned the cat loose on this letter as they have the seal on it for being opened by them. It is Hell they can't leave the mail alone in a 'free country.' Some day they will keep their dirty hands off alright." Does that statement reflect the sentiment of the average I. W. W. in regard to the Postal authorities opening mail?

A. I think it is a very natural expression of any one whose mail had been interfered with.

Q. Do you know why these letters were opened?

A. I do not.

Q. Is it your theory or belief that they were opened because of their being correspondence between I. W. W. members or officials?

A. I presume that is the reason.

Q. Do you identify this letter of February 19th, written in the County Jail by you to C. A. Rogers?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you identify this letter written from the U. S. Immigration Station to yourself, signed "Yours for the revolution," addressed c/o E. I. Chamberlain? A. I do.

Q. Who wrote that?

A. A man named Flogaus.

NEIL GUINEY (16). [203]

H-39.

Q. I take it he was held under order or deportation in the Seattle Detention Station?

A. He was.

Q. Among other things this writer says, "We look for the powder to explode Thursday, the sixth, and you may bet they will be some Hell. I live in hopes they will come and take us from here." Do you know what he refers to?

A. That first part he refers to the general strike in Seattle. When he says he hopes they will come and take him from there, he means from the U. S. Immigration Detention House, for he had been kicking about the treatment he had received there.

Q. He meant that the strikers themselves would release him forcibly?

A. I don't know just what he meant. Only thing I take it, was that he would be taken out of there.

Q. What does he mean when he signs himself, "yours for the revolution"?

A. Well, he is just expressing a desire to see a new social order come into being. It is an old method of signing letters and articles among I. W. W.'s, socialists, and so on.

Q. This letter dated, Chicago, February 18th, from P. Stone, Acting Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W., addressed to you and inclosing copy of a resolution, has been found among your effects. This Bulletin which is signed by three members of the I. W. W. General Executive Board, and promulgated by

Wm. D. Haywood, General Secretary-Treasurer, appears to be an attempt upon the part of the I. W. W. organization to deny their belief in, or advocacy of, sabotage and the unlawful destruction of property. Do you know when this resolution was adopted?

NEIL GUINEY (17). [204]

H-40.

A. In April or May, 1918. I would also state that that is the first official action taken by the I. W. W. in any way regarding sabotage.

Q. Either for or against?

A. Either for or against it.

Q. Then what have you to say about these five forms of stickers printed in black and red, which I show you at this time. Do those not clearly encourage sabotage?

A. The stickers are used by the members as a means of advertising the organization. Sort of silent agitators they call them. Used for propaganda purposes. Those who want sabotage stickers used to order sabotage stickers, send in a design and have them printed. We sold them just as we sell other things. Those who wanted to use them, used them and those who didn't want to, didn't. But since the fall of 1917 no sabotage stickers have been circulated to my knowledge.

Q. If the I. W. W. as an organization was opposed to the use of sabotage, why did they print literature and documents encouraging that sort of action?

A. I did not state that the I. W. W. was opposed to sabotage. I stated that they had never taken any

action one way or another until 1918.

Q. They certainly encouraged it, did they not, by the printing of this sort of stuff, and putting it out with their official seal on it.

A. I—they probably did, yes.

Q. What is the I. W. W. symbol for sabotage?

A. Their symbol for sabotage? They have many symbols. Sometimes the black cat—sometimes the wooden shoe.

Q. Do you know who originated those symbols?

A. Well, the wooden shoe, that is a sabot, part of the name sabotage. Sabotage is a French word brought from France. Means “work carelessly done,” or “kick with a wooden shoe.” The word

NEIL GUINEY (18). [205]

H-41

originated, I think, among the textile workers in France.

Q. I meant to ask who originated the symbol of the black cat?

A. I don't know. I take it, though, that as the black cat is a symbol of bad luck, they figure that sabotage is bad luck for the employer or any one against whom it is used.

Q. Did you, yourself, ever purchase any Liberty Bonds or subscribe to any War Savings Stamps, etc?

A. No.

(Signed) NEIL GUINEY.

Certified true transcript.

MARGARET A. SCOTT,
Junior Clerk. [206]

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Sticker in red and black. Picture of man wearing sabots. The following printing appears:

“I. W. W.—SOLIDARITY—Takes the Whole Works—Join the ONE BIG UNION.

Another sticker in red and black with the following printing:

“SLOW DOWN—Respect yourselves
Protect yourselves—
The hours are long, the pay is small
So take your time and buck them all.

Another sticker showing picture of clock and two black cats, reading as follows:

WHAT TIME IS IT?

Organization—

I. W. W.

Organize Now—Organize Right.

Another sticker reading as follows:

BOLSHEVIKI MEANS MAJORITY.

WHO ARE THE MAJORITY?

THE WORKERS.

LET THE WORKERS RULE THIS NATION.

JOIN THE I. W. W.

Another sticker—showing picture of red flag with the following words printed on flag:

“Abolition of the Wage System.

Also picture of sabot on flag and underneath are the words:

Join the I. W. W. for Freedom from Wage Slavery.

Another sticker reading:

Don't Scab—Join the Union of your class the I. W.

W. Whenever you *speed up* or work *long hours* on the job you are *scabbing* on the unemployed. For information address I. W. W., 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. [207]

H-43

Newspaper clipping as follows:

ATTENTION EMPLOYERS.

The statutes of the state of Idaho provide that no corporation may employ a foreigner who has not first declared his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States, and as the country is confronted with the problem of providing work for the returning soldiers, all aliens should be made to give place to men who have proved their loyalty to their country.

Appended is a list of men, in Benewah county, known as aliens or alien enemies who have either revoked their first papers or who have never taken out first papers, and who have claimed exemption from military service on the ground that they were aliens:

Alexander, Thiros,	Bilonjac, Mike,
Antomoff, Tony,	Boluk, Stephen,
Angelkoff, Vasil,	Bell, Emile,
Antonio, Lisa M.	Bilonjac Ilija,
Azccapka, Mikat,	Bkorrina, Robert,
Anderson, Samuel,	Bruderselt, Knut,
Anderson, Emil,	Blazevich, Petar,
Alferson, Ole,	Christofferson, N.,
Anderson, Anton,	Carlson, Fred,
Baskens, P. A.,	Cico, Emil,
Belchoff George	Chinas, James,

Chuck, Dmiter,
Aspek, Victor,
Achilli, C.,
Antonio, Dom.,
Anderson, Elof,
Anderson, Alex,
Anzjou, E. S.,
Anderson, Otto,
Anderson, Gustaf,
August, Lesz,

Bergeson, Andrew,
Benas, Bill,
Bakken, Morris,
Bodjinig, L. N.,
Boxichovic, Kosta,
Brede, G. E. W. F.,
Bergeman, J. E.
Bowes, John,
Blanusa, Dan, [208]

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Chalos, Jim G.,
Casper, Carl,
Chiminti, Guy,
Cantoline, Sarerio,
Colocihas, Geo.,
Cantalini, Ginlio,
Demtris, John,
Dincoff, Kireacho,
Dukich, Nick,
Dragos, Pete,
Duhick, William,
Duhick, John,
Dimitroff, E. P.,
Dante, Gazalo S.,
Davis, John,
Dukich, Joe,
Dubee, Albert,
Detric, Pavan,
Enquist, Alben,
Elieff, Stoiko,
Ekman, Edward E.,

Erickson, Albin E.,
Evanoff, Toder,
Eriscon, L.,
Elieff, Pete,
Estes, Ed,
Erickson, Albert,
Erickson, Evert J.,
Fagander, J.,
Fukuoko, Yokichi,
Frkovich, M.,
Fratos, Apostolas,
Fraser, Donald,
Franie, Marko,
Geroff, Latir G.
Grampirtri, Loreto,
Gadjoff, N.,
Ganshe, Theodore,
Gligoroff, E.,
Ginlini, Carmine,
Giampurti, S.,
Gelalis, Leonidas,

Georgeoff, M.,	Higushi, Segaro,
Guiney, Neil,	Hirata, Kamonouki,
Gornorg, Rstip,	Hysing, Hans,
Gorich, Roidic,	Hagstrom, Olar,
Holstein, George,	Hirata, Hagime,
Hansen, David,	Hergert, John,
Hristoff, Sam,	Halquist, M. A.,
Hager, Carl,	Ignace, John T.,
Hergert, John M.,	Iverson, Hans,
Hartvigson, H. O. A.,	Johnson, P. O.,
Hodjicoff, L.,	Julian, Joe,
Hristoff, Lazar,	Johnson, L. Ole, [209]

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Johnsos, Edward,	Knutson, Knut,
Johnson, Peter A.,	Knutson, James,
Johnson, Carl,	Kosovich, Nick,
Johnson, Alfred H.,	Konistir, Nick,
Jasky, Pete,	Kenezeic, Blaz,
Jakick, Dmitar,	Kandz, Charles,
Jhansen, Jhan A.,	Kolundzich, Stevo,
Jaksic, Petar,	Knutson, L.,
Jackice, Theodore,	Lust, Adam,
Johnson, Nels A.,	Lalich, Eli,
Johnson, Christ,	Larson, Matt,
Kola, Mat.,	Lond, Joseph,
Kamentsilos, Frank,	Larson, Edwin B.,
Klenk, John,	Leopardo, M.,
Koludiger, Thomas,	Lee, Chong,
Kopchell, Chris G.,	Laitinen, Taavetti,
Klieshoff, John,	Larson, Gustov A.,
Kostoff, John,	Lockhart, T. E.,
Kuldger, Joso,	Lazorick, Alex.,

Mello, Dominic, ·	Miller, Mark,
Moskoff, Dicho,	Mundry, Nick,
Monsrud, Alf.,	Miller, Mark,
Mahoney, Patrick,	McNaevitt, Pete,
Mataija, Ilija,	Markovinovic, M.
Massaslaw, Philip,	Molmberg, B. C. F.,
Mataiga, D.,	Morash, Geo.,
McLean, J. M.,	Nelson, John,
Mlinaric, Pavas,	Naumoff, Nichola,
Miller, George,	Nylund, Eric,
Mascone, Jos.,	Noek, Boreic,
Marcel, Joseph,	Nelson, A. C.,
Mostowa, Mike,	Naslund, John W.
Munter, Spik E. O.,	Nylen, Albert, [210]

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Oslavsk, Louis,	Peterson, Charles,
Olson, Nels A.,	Popovsky, A.,
Olson, Henry J.,	Porpat, John,
Olson, John,	Postulovic, Anton,
Ottestad, Toralf, O.,	Panjeric, Rado,
Oberg, Art,	Plecas, Vaso,
Olson, Carl,	Pearson, Charles,
Ose, Ole,	Pearson, J. B.,
Papiansheff, Panda W.,	Popoff, Evan,
Paxton, M. E. E.,	Postulovich, Peter,
Papvasilau, G. H.,	Petrovich, Gazo,
Pearson, Herman, H.,	Postulovic, Jure,
Peldo, Chas.,	Raccnelli, Joe,
Pepercoff, Nick S.,	Reimer, George,
Papagiani, C. S.,	Radzek, Jake,
Peterson, Axel E.,	Sideroff, Louis,
Prosan, John,	Shultz, John,

Stepahko, Wasil,
 Sterns, John J.,
 Storas, Gust,
 Seidenschwary, J.,
 Stenman, Arvid,
 Silenzi, Iovanni,
 Sotiroff, Pando,
 Stephens, Duncan,
 Saratovich, T.,
 Stilich, Matt,
 Suzaic, Nichola,
 Stromgren, Erick,
 Scraba, Alex,
 Schmidt, Mike H.,
 Swanson, Otto,
 Saric, Nickola,
 Straub, George,

Saari, Louie,
 Skoglund, C. T. P.
 Skrina, Steve,
 Staumates, Tom,
 Straub, Harry,
 Straub, Henry,
 Santman, Gus,
 Tadick, Stanley,
 Tomick, Steve,
 Tonkovich, Djuric,
 Tillberg, Eric,
 Troiani, Andrea,
 Troini, Agostino,
 Tamic, Mile,
 Uzeno, Soichi,
 Uzeno, Sozaburo,
 Ungur, Mike, [211]

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Valde, Carl,
 Vogrig, Andron,
 Vecellis, A. L.,
 Whistocken, Baza,

Wasilchuk, N.,
 Westburg, Gust,
 Welton, Ed M. [212]

Education.	I. W. W.	Organization
Labor is entitled to	General	at the source
all it produces.	Industrial	of production.
	Workers of	
	the World	
	Administration.	

Executive Board:

- F. H. Little, Fresno, Calif.
- Francis Miller, Providence, R. I.
- C. L. Lambert, Sacramento, Calif.
- Wm. Wiertola, Biwabik, Minn.
- Richard Brazier, Spokane, Wash.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD,

1001 W. Madison Street,
Chicago, Ill.

Wm. D. Haywood,	Peter Stone,
General Secretary-Treas.	Acting, Secy-Tres.
	February 19, 1919.

Neil Guiney:

Portland, Oregon.

Fellow Worker:

Yours of the 12th inst., at hand and contents noted.

Enclosed you will find copy of resolutions asked for. Have taken the matter up at an informal meeting of the G. E. B. yesterday morning. It has been suggested that they will get out resolutions on the same subject for criminal syndicalism states. In the meantime it would not be a bad idea to have a number of these resolutions put around in a number of halls as they might start in before we expect it.

Yours for Industrial Democracy.

(Signed) P. STONE,
Acting-Secretary Treasurer.

PS—KM. [213]

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BULLETIN, Page 3.

WHEREAS—the Industrial Workers of the

World has heretofore published, without editorial comment or adoption, many works on industrial subjects, in which the workers have a natural interest, including treatises on "Sabotage" and

WHEREAS—the industrial interests of the country, bent upon destroying any and all who oppose the wage system by which they have so long exploited the workers of the country, are attempting to make it appear that "Sabotage" means the destruction of property and the commission of violence and that the Industrial Workers of the World favor and advocate such methods, now, therefore, in order that our position on such matters may be more clear and unequivocal, we, the General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World do hereby declare that said organization does not now, and never has believed in or advocated either destruction or violence as a means of accomplishing industrial reform:

First—because no principle was ever settled by such methods.

Second—because industrial history has taught us that when strikers resort to violence, and unlawful methods, all the resources of the Government are immediately aligned against them and they lose their cause.

Third—because such methods destroy the constructive [214] impulse, which it is the purpose of this Organization to foster and develop in order that the workers may fit themselves to assume their place in the new society, and we hereby re-affirm our belief in the principles embodied in the report of this body to the Seventh Annual Convention, extracts from

which were re-published under the title, "On the Firing Line."

Francis Miller, C. L. Lambert,
Richard Brazier, G. E. B. Members.

These facts are presented to you for your careful consideration, as the time seems to be approaching when it will be necessary for you to act. Remember that self-preservation is the first law of nature, and your destinies are in your own hands. We cannot allow the life of the Industrial Workers of the World, which has meant so much to all its members, to be crushed out.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

WM. D. HAYWOOD,

General Secretary-Treasurer.

WLH—HLS [215]

Kristiania, Norway, Nov. 28-18.

Fred Hegge

1001 West Madison St.,

Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Worker & friend

I arived here in good shape and am with good health. We had a fine trip across. I found my sister in this city and am staying with her for the present. I have spoken to a few of our comrades and am going to speak on Friday next week. You can be sure it is a verry inspireing time over here. The only thing which ma— it bad for me is my financial situation. If you could spare a few beans it would sure be appreciated and it would give me more show

to work for our Idea. You may take this up with som of the fellow workers over there. I was clean when I come here did not have a cent. Be sure that things are going fine and dandy. It would be n—— if you could send me some literature of all kinds. I will send you a more news letter latter on. I am going to write to some of the boys at Leavenworth.

With best wishes to you I remain yours for Industrial freedom.

NILS MADSEN.

Nils Madsen

adr Bertrand Pettersen

Bjerregaards gade No. 13 IIII

Kristiania Norway. [216]

Boise Ida Jan. 26/1919

Neil Guiney

Fellow Worker

Will drop you a line to acknowledge the receipt of your welcome letter of some time ago.

We are all in good health and spirits at present and enjoying the finest of weather. This time of year generally found us out in the woods with the snow up to our armpits wrestling saw logs, but here the weather is warm and we played baseball yesterday.

The legislative bodies of Idaho are also taking advantage of the warm weather and are busy making more laws among which is one prohibiting the display of the red flag penalty same as the C. S. law, also one creating a state constabulary similar to the one they had in California. They no doubt are tak-

ing their action from the old motto make hay while the sun shines. One of the boise papers carried an article headed Bolshevism vs. Nationalism, a topic that seems to haunt every gathering of the bosses lately. The workers of Russia must have thoroly demonstrated their ability to legislate for themselves in order to cause such a scare in this country.

You no doubt have at sometime attended a game that you were particularly interested in, well that's what it seems like in here, watching the game from the side lines. Notice that everything is carried on broader scale than they formerly were by the workers. At Seattle a few days ago 45000 men walked out as the whistle blew (like the woblies who blow their own whistles) and now there is danger of it spreading to other industries, realizing that in Unity there is strength. [217]

We drew up a resolution dispencing with all legal procedure on our appeals and sent it to Spokane Def com to have it published in the org. papers, let us know if it appeared and send us a clipping of it if you have one handy. Notice that three I. W. W.'s were arrested in St. Maries and are bound over to the federal court we did not get their names also notice that there were a few arrests in Spokane. Well Neil this is all the room I have this time. We unite in sending our greetings to all fellow Workers and wishing you success in your work for the organization.

We remain

Yours for Industrial Freedom

WM. M. NELSON.

What do you think about the chi conference
[218]

THE CALL OF THE LUMBER CAMP.
(Tune, "Take Me Back to Old Montana.")

In my little cell I'm longing
For the old camp once again
Where the gong sounds every morning
Where the logs shoot down the main
Where the donkey puffs and thunders
As she drags her heavy load
Hauling down the mighty forest
For the timber holder's hoard,

II.

Tis the life that I love dearly
And somehow I long to be
Back among the fir and Pine trees
Where my old friends I can see
Where the big trees kiss the breezes
Where the old time loggers boast
How they stuck for good conditions
From Montana to the coast,

III.

Take me back where I am happy
Where the mountain breezes blow
To the land of hooks and high lines,
Where the trolleys come and go
Where the jacks stand firm to-gether
And the shears no longer trod,
Where they make old fatty shiver
By their action on the job,

IV.

Oh' how well do I remember
How we told fatty dear

Fix your camps up nice and cosy
For the time is almost here
When were going to live like humans
And no longer starve and freeze
There's a brighter day thats dawning,
When exploiting life will cease,

P. S.—I wish you would please try at the book store for a book titled “Spanish at a Glance.”

This poem is one which I composed during some of my spare time in this place.

Yours for Ind. freedom,
F. E. H. [219]

Fulton La 2-3-19

Mr. Neil Guiney
Chicago Ill.

Fellow Worker Guiney

I will drop you a few lines and let you know that I am still on deck.

Fellow Worker Graham, and I have been down here, about two months but have not done much organizing so far, it seems hard to get started to do anything among these scissors, but I think if the Union would send good speakers and plenty of organisers down here it would not be long before good results could be obtained, the time is ripe for a general overhauling in this neck of the woods, all it takes is lots of delegates, so when some get grabbed there will be more to take their places.

We have distributed considerable litature, which we brought from Minneapolis, and would kindly ask you to send us the street number of the Minneapolis

Union Hall, as we have not made any remittance yet, but will do so as soon as we know where to send same.

Wages in this district are from \$3.00 to \$3.50 per day, board is from 85c to \$1.15 per day.

Drum pullers and other mechanics receive from \$4.50 to \$5.20 per day, less board, everything is ten hours, of course. Mill hand wages are from \$2.50 per, and up, but not very high up.

If you have a bulletin or other papers I wish you would send us a few as we have not had a word of news since we left Spokane, am sending a few stamps to cover mailing.

Please answer.

Yours for the O. B. W.

J. F. BEAL,

Fulton Louisiana. [220]

County Jail

Portland, Ore. 2-19-19

C. A. Rogers,

City.

Fellow Worker:—

I am being held by the Immigration authorities for "investigation." It looks like deportation to me but we never can tell. I do not know how long I will be here so you had better get busy (if you have not already done so) and get some one in my place.

The officers assure me that they are not holding the stuff in the office so you can have the bookkeeper go to work as if nothing happened. Of course he can use his own judgement about it as I dont want any one to deliberately walk into a trap. I have on deposit \$1126.00 in the Hibernian bank and \$237.50 in

cash, checks and money orders in the sheriff's office here. Would suggest that you make some arrangements whereby I can turn this money over to the proper person as I do not expect to be on the outside for some time to come. If the immigration people do not want me I think that some other outfit will try to take me over to see what they can do about it. Of course I may be mistaken but I have a habit of always expecting to get the worst of it and in that way I am never disappointed.

I wish you would have some one go to my room and get me a clean suit of underwear and my slippers, tooth brush and paste and a pair of socks. I also have some stationery and stamps which I wish you would send in, so that I will have some decent stationery to write with. Also get me a hard lead pencil and a small bottle of fountain pen ink (blue).

Another thing, do not sent any shysters around here. If I can't spring myself there is no lawyer going to be able [221] to do it for a while anyway. Look after my mail but don't send it in here untill you hear from me again. Anyone visiting me must first get a permit from the Immigration inspector, but I would like to have you let it be known that I am not particular about having anyone run the risk of coming around here asking for me. It is a cinch that whoever does so is going to be trailed by some D. J. man and you know what those birds can do towards dealing any one misery.

Assure the boys that everything is all right and to just go ahead as if nothing ever happened. The mere fact that I am out of the game for a little while

makes no difference in the work of the O. B. U.

They claim that they are now waiting for word from Washington, D. C. about the disposition of my case and that they will know "tomorrow." My experience in these kind of cases tells me that it takes about three weeks for them to make the first move, once they have wrapped the ironworks around a man. However, I am not losing any sleep over it.

Let me know if you get this.

NEIL GUINEY. [222]

U. S. Immigration Station.

Neal Guiney :

Fellow Worker

Yours of the 25 of Jan. received through C. I. C. and it was certainly received with cheer.

Up to date I have not received my notes but believe if they were sent c/o Chamberlain I will receive them at the earliest opportunity, as it is very difficult to run the blockade.

Neal something must be doing on the outside as they have made no attempt to start anyone on their way to New York.

We look for the powder to explode thursday the sixth and you may bet there will be some hell. I live in hopes they will come and take us from here. To tell the truth about the matter, the officials are shaking, in the last week troops we thrown around the buildings of this department. Forty five 45,000 troops in camp Lewis voted not to take part as strike brakers, it looks good. Neal in reference to the few rags in that suit case. I wish you would take them

if you can use them. As I have no idea what it contains therefore I am willing to call it square. The notes were the only things I really wanted. It doesn't make much difference if I have one shirt or two.

Up to date I have not received my final orders but believe they are keeping me in the dark so it will be impossible to get the wright to apply for a habeas corpus.

We have a Lawyer in name that about all. The sooner we rid ourselves of these jokes the sooner we are apt to see new things. [223]

Neal I will close for this time hoping to see the final battle. I am Yours for the

REVOLUTION

address

c/o E. I. Chamberlin.

(Note: The above is a copy of what purports to be a letter written from the U. S. Immigration Station at Seattle by Ed Flogaus, a Pole, under order of deportation, to Neil Guiney, Secretary of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, No. 500, of the I. W. W., Portland, Oregon.) [224]

Sacramento Bastile,

January 21, 1919.

Neil Guiney.

Fellow Worker:—

Still here yet, but are going to be moved Thursday, so I thought I'd drop you a few lines. Well, hows everything going on. The five sentenced to Frisco County Bastile left this A. M. I wrote you a letter a couple days ago & I wrote it in a hurry so you'll have

to excuse the scribbling, All are well except Fred Esmond & his sick ———. Wasn't expected live through the trial. But he made it O. K. with a severe lecture on top of it. Prostitution didn't think much of themselves after he got through reviewing the frame-up. Say Neil I wish you would put a few adds in the papers there, for Frank Masek. I worked with him in Sky Komish, Washington & want him to drop me a line while in my new home. All are in high hopes here. We new that a capitalist Jury couldn't render any other Verdict than they did.

Also wish you would subscribe for the Defense News Bulletin for me. Delegates have just been here to get the stuff such as Blankets, razors, watches, & that stuff that we can't take along. I also sent you a Sacramento Bee with the names & sentences. Did you receive it? Well I'll close for this time so better wait for a few days before writing. You know my address.

Yours truly forever I remain for the O. B. U. and Industrial freedom.

OTTO ELSNER (?). [225]

B. C. Canada, Feb. 3, 1919.

Neil Guiney

1001 West Madison St

Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Worker:—

Your letter of Dec 18 at hand to day. I see where the authorities turned the cat loose on this letter as they had the seal on it for been open by them. it is hell they cant leave the mail alone in a "Free Coun-

try.” Some day they will keep their dirty hands of alright. I have received them due books you sent me. I wrote to Gateway to forward my mail to Virginia, Minn, but I haven got then. I have been laying low for awhile as my wife is not feeling good, but she is feeling better again so I’ll go after the slaves again. I’m leaving Canada tomorrow morning for the States. Received a letter from Carter today he said he was going to send in a report last so he most be a delegate for #600 again. I think he is alright again I gave him a good talk last time I was with him. He got a good chance to good for #600 in Whitefish as it is a railroad town. Not what you said about George Franklin going south with \$200—How about Fred Hegge I got a letter from Leavenworth Kansas telling he he (unintelligible to be a (unintelligible). Will drop you a line soon as I get back over to the States.

I’m Yours for
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM
Delegate 366. [226]

B. C. Canada, Feb. 3, 1919

Neil Guiney

1001 West Madison St.

Chicago, Ill.

Fellow Worker:—

Your letter of Dec 18 just at hand today. I see where the authorities turned the cat loose on this letter as they had the seal on it for been open by them it is hell they cant leave the mail alone in a “Free Country.” Some day they will keep their dirty hands of alright. I haven received them due books

you sent me. I wrote to Gateway to forward my mail to Virginia, Minn, but I haven got them. I have been laying low for awhile as my wife is not feeling good, but she is feeling better again so I'll go after the slaves again. I'm leaving Canada tomorrow morning for the States. Received a letter from Carter today he said he was going to send in a report last so he most be a delegate for #600 again. I think he is alright again I gave him a good talk last time I was with him. He got a good chance to good work for #600 in Whitefish as it is a railroad town. Not what you said about George Franklin going south with \$200—How about Fred Hegge I got a letter from Leavenworth Kansas telling me he (unintelligible) to be a (unintelligible). Will drop you a line soon as I get back over to the States.

I'm yours for
INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

Delegate 366. [227]

U. S. Immigration Station.

Neal Guiney

Fellow Worker:

Yours of the 25 of Jan received through C. I. C. and it was certainly received with cheer.

Up to date I have not received my notes but I believe if they were sent c/o Chamberlin I will receive them at the earliest opportunity, as it is very difficult to run the blockade.

Neal something must be doing on the outside as they have made no attempt to start anyone on their way to New York.

We look for the wowder to explode thursday the sixth and you may bet there will be some hell. I live in hopes they will come and take us from here. To tell the truth about the matter, the officials are shaking, in the last week troops we thrown arround the buildings of this department. Fourty five 45.000 troops in camp Lewis voted not to take part as strike brakers, it looks good. Neal in reference to the few rags in that suit case. I wish you would take them if you can use them. As I have no idea what it contains therefore I am willing to call it square. The notes were the only things I realy wanted. It doesn't make much difference if I have one shirt or two.

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We have a Lawyer in name that about all. The sooner we rid ourselves of these jokes the sooner we are apt to see new things. Neal, I will close for the time hoping to see the final battle. I am Yours for the

REVOLUTION

address c/o E. I. Chamberlin [228]

Application for Warrant of Arrest Under the Act of
Oct. 16, 1918.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.
Immigration Service.

5040/30.

Office of Inspector in Charge,
(Place) Portland, Oregon,
February 17th, 1919.

Confirming telegraphic
request of even date.

The undersigned respectfully recommends that the Secretary of Labor issue his warrant for the arrest of NEIL GUINEY, subject of Canada. the alien named in the attached certificate, upon the following facts which the undersigned has carefully investigated, and which, to the best of his knowledge and belief, are true:

(1) (Here state fully facts which show alien to be unlawfully in the United States. Give sources of information, and, where possible, secure from informants and forward with this application duly verified affidavits setting forth the facts within the knowledge of the informants.)

That he is affiliated with an organization that entertains a belief in, teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, etc., etc., or that advocates or teaches the unlawful destruction of property. This alien was formerly field delegate of the I. W. W. of which organization he has been a member three years, and is now secretary of the Lumberworkers' Industrial Union, No. 500, of the I. W. W. In these capacities he has been and is still active

in spreading the pernicious propaganda of this organization, giving all of his time to the work and drawing a salary therefor. He had just arrived in File Portland and established his official headquarters when arrested by the local police.

(2) The present location and occupation of the above-named [229] alien are as follows: City Jail, Portland, Oregon.

Pursuant to Rule 22 of the Immigration Regulations there is attached hereto and made a part hereof the certificate prescribed in subdivision 2 of said Rule, as to the landing or entry of said alien, duly signed by the immigration officer in charge at the port through which said alien entered the United States.

(Signature) R. P. BONHAM,
(Official Title) Inspector in Charge.
W. F. W.

WFW:MAS [230]

WARRANT—ARREST OF ALIEN.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Department of Labor,
Washington.

No. 54616/70.

To R. P. Bonham, Inspector in Charge, Portland, Oregon, or to any Immigrant Inspector in the Service of the United States.

WHEREAS, from evidence submitted to me, it appears that the alien NEAL GUINEY, who landed at an unknown port, on or about the 1st day of Jan., 1918, has been found in the United States in viola-

tion of the immigration act of February 5, 1917, for the following among other reasons:

That he has been found advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property.

I, JOHN W. ABERCROMBIE, Acting Secretary of Labor, by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by the laws of the United States, do hereby command you to take into custody the said alien and grant him a hearing to enable him to show cause why he should not be deported in conformity with law.

The expenses of detention hereunder, if necessary, are authorized, payable from the appropriation "Expenses of Regulating Immigration, 1919." Pending further proceedings the alien may be released from custody upon furnishing satisfactory bond in the sum of \$2,000.

For so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant.

Witness my hand and seal this 18th day of February, 1919.

(Exact copy as signed by John W. Abercrombie Mailed 2, 1919, by B.)

Acting Secretary of Labor.

RM:ETH. [231]

54616/70

February 18, 1919.

Immigration Service,
Portland, Oregon,

Arrow Neal Guiney, destructionist. Relay twenty.

Exact copy as signed by John W. Abercrombie Mailed 2, 1919, by B.

Acting Secretary.

RM.

ETH. [232]

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.
TELEGRAM.

Portland Ore Feb 17-19

Immigration Bureau,
Washington, (DC)

Wadding NEAL GUINEY destructionist relegate
twenty.

BONHAM.

930am.

Feb 19-19.

2/18 10:15

Expedite to Cor. Sec.

WW.

Filed June 30, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. [233]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on the 19th day of
July, 1919, there was duly filed in said court an
Opinion, in words and figures as follows, to wit:
[234]

*In the District Court of the United States for the
District of Oregon.*

In the Matter of the Application of NEIL GUINEY
for Writ of Habeas Corpus.

Opinion.

BERT E. HANEY, United States Attorney,
BARNETT H. GOLDSTEIN, Assistant U. S. At-
torney.

GEORGE F. VANDERVEER, for Petitioner.

WOLVERTON, District Judge (Orally):

Neil Guiney is being held by the Immigration In-

spector in charge of the Portland office for deportation to Canada. The charge against him is that he has been found advocating or teaching the unlawful destruction of property. He insists, through his counsel, that the record of his examination before the acting inspector in charge contains no evidence sufficient to substantiate the charge, and, further, that the findings of the Commissioner General appear to have been based upon extraneous matter not properly incorporated in the record.

From a careful review of the testimony, it appears that the petitioner is a member and secretary of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W. whose duties were to supervise the work of the organization and superintend the distribution of I. W. W. literature among its members. He avows sympathy with the organization "to a large extent," and, "as a whole, with the object and aims of the I. W. W. as set forth in its preamble and much of its literature," he is in thorough accord. Without denying that the I. W. W. is a revolutionary organization, that it aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results with the least expenditure of time and energy, and that the question of right and wrong does not concern its members, he seeks to explain that "any and all tactics" does not necessarily mean destruction or overthrow [235] of government or assassination, but he makes no effort to define the application of the phrase as understood in the order. And so of the words "right" and "wrong," he seems to think they are relative terms merely, but insists in effect that his order is the sole judge of their application, re-

ardless of how it may affect the employer class. He denies that he believed in sabotage, or that the order indorses its use. The literature promulgated by the organization undoubtedly advocates its use, and it is so shown by the record. The attempt is to deny official responsibility, while nevertheless the practice is resorted to freely by the members of the order.

Guiney's argument in palliation of his acts is that he absorbed his radical ideas in this country, and, having done so, that this government ought not to deport him. His entire statement is largely evasive, and his deductions are illogical. There can be no question that the record supports the findings of the Commissioner General.

As to the other criticism, the Commissioner General, in transmitting the record here for the purposes of this trial, has attached thereto the correspondence pertaining to the inquiry, which is not properly a part of the record, and cannot be so considered. Obviously it had no influence with the Commissioner General; nor should it be considered here.

The writ will be discharged, and the petitioner will be allowed twenty days in which to determine whether he will prosecute an appeal.

Filed July 19, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. [236]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on Monday, the 21st day of July, 1919, the same being the 13th Judicial day of the Regular July term of said Court—Present the Honorable CHARLES E. WOLVERTON, United States District Judge, presiding, the following proceedings were had in said cause, to wit: [237]

In the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon.

No. 8457.

In the Matter of the Application of NEIL GUINEY for a Writ of Habeas Corpus and Ancillary Writ of Certiorari.

Order Denying Petition for Writ of Error.

The above-entitled matter having come duly on for hearing on the 30th day of June, 1919, before Honorable Charles E. Wolverton, one of the Judges of the above-entitled court, pursuant to an order made on the 23d day of June, 1919, by Honorable Robert S. Bean, the Judge of the above-entitled court before whom said writ was made returnable, continuing said hearing to said date; the petitioner being present in person and represented by George F. Vanderveer, his attorney; the respondent appearing in person and by Barnett H. Goldstein, one of his attorneys, and the Court having duly considered the complaint of the petitioner, the order directing the issuance of a writ of habeas corpus and an ancillary writ of certiorari, the writ and ancillary writ issued pursuant thereto, the answer and return of the re-

spondent filed herein on June 30, 1919, and the transcript of the record of the proceedings of the United States Department of Labor, certified by A. Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration for the United States, which transcript was filed with and made a part of the respondent's said answer and return; the Court having heard the arguments of counsel and being fully advised in the premises and having on the 19th day of July, 1919, filed herein a written opinion and decision discharging the writ of habeas corpus herein; now, upon motion of Barnett H. Goldstein, one of the attorneys for the respondent, it is, for the reasons more particularly recited in said written opinion and decision: [238]

ORDERED, ADJUDGED AND DECREED that the writ of habeas corpus issued herein on the 13th day of June, 1919, be, and the same hereby is discharged and the petitioner is hereby remanded to the custody of the respondent under the warrant of deportation made by John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor, made the 27th day of May, 1919.

To the foregoing order, and each and every part thereof, the petitioner duly and regularly excepted at the time of the signing of said order, and his exception is hereby allowed.

Done in open court this 21st day of July, 1919.

CHAS. E. WOLVERTON,

Judge.

Filed July 21, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. [239]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on the 22d day of July, 1919, there was duly filed in said court a petition for appeal, in words and figures as follows, to wit: [240]

In the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon.

In the Matter of the Application of NEIL GUINEY
for a Writ of Habeas Corpus and Ancillary
Writ of Certiorari.

Petition for Appeal and Order Allowing Same.

To the Honorable CHARLES E. WOLVERTON,
District Judge:

The above-named petitioner, feeling aggrieved by the order and decree rendered and entered in the above-entitled cause on the 21st day of July, 1919, does hereby appeal from said decree to the Circuit Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit, for the reasons set forth in the assignment of errors filed herewith, and he prays that his appeal be allowed and that citation be issued as provided by law, and that a transcript of the record proceedings and documents upon which said order was based, duly authenticated, be sent to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit, sitting at San Francisco, under the rules of such court in such cases made and provided.

(Signed) NEIL GUINEY,
Petitioner.

(Signed) RALPH S. PIERCE AND
GEORGE F. VANDERVEER,
Attorneys for Petitioner.

On this 22d day of July, 1919, it is ORDERED that the appeal be allowed as prayed for and that bond for costs on such appeal be fixed in the sum of \$250.

(Signed) CHAS. E. WOLVERTON,
District Judge.

Filed Jul. 22, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. [241]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on the 22d day of July, 1919, there was duly filed in said court, an assignment of errors, in words and figures as follows, to wit: [242]

In the District Court of the United States, for the District of Oregon.

In the Matter of the Application of NEIL GUINEY for a Writ of Habeas Corpus and Ancillary Writ of Certiorari.

Assignments of Error.

Now comes the petitioner in the above-entitled cause and files the following assignments of error upon which he will rely upon the prosecution of the appeal in the above-entitled cause, from the decree made by this Honorable Court on the 21st day of July, 1919.

ASSIGNMENT No. 1.

Said District Court erred in rendering and entering the order and judgment of July 21st, 1919, herein appealed from, discharging the writ of habeas corpus herein and remanding the petitioner to the custody of the respondent, on the ground and for the reason that the order and warrant of deportation

made and issued by the United States Secretary of Labor on the 27th day of May, 1919, wherein he found the petitioner had been found within the United States advocating the destruction of property and wherein he ordered said petitioner deported to the Dominion of Canada, was and is wholly arbitrary and void for each and all of the following reasons:

First. Because at the time the warrant of arrest was issued by said Secretary of Labor on to wit: the 18th day of February, 1919, and at the time said order and warrant of deportation was made, on, to wit, May 27th, 1919, more than five years had expired since the petitioner's entry into the [243] United States on to wit: March 1st, 1913.

Second. At the hearings held to inquire into said matter no evidence was produced that the petitioner had ever advocated, or ever been found advocating, the unlawful destruction of property, and

Third. Because the hearings held to inquire into the charges filed against the petitioner were not conducted in accordance with the forms and processes of law, in that the evidence was submitted to and considered by the United States Secretary of Labor in the absence of and without the knowledge of petitioner and which he had no opportunity to examine, explain or rebut.

ASSIGNMENT No. 2.

Said District Court erred in finding that the petitioner had ever advocated, or been found within the United States advocating, the unlawful destruction

of property, for the reason that there was and is no evidence to sustain such a finding.

ASSIGNMENT No. 3.

Said District Court erred in finding that the correspondence incorporated in the original file constituting the record of the Bureau of Immigration in the case of the alien Neil Guiney, the petitioner, which had been introduced in evidence against the petitioner in his absence and without his knowledge, and which he had had no opportunity to examine, explain or rebut, had had no influence with the Commissioner General of Immigration or the Secretary of Labor in considering and determining said case, for the reason that there was and is no evidence to sustain such finding and the same is contrary to [244] and refuted by the certificate attached to said file by said Commissioner General of Immigration and the Acting Secretary of Labor.

WHEREFORE, the petitioner prays that said decree be reversed and that said District Court be ordered to enter a decree discharging the petitioner from further custody.

NEIL GUINEY,
Petitioner.

RALPH S. PIERCE and
GEORGE F. VANDERVEER,
Attorneys for Petitioner.

Filed Jul. 22, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. [245]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on Tuesday, the 22d day of July, 1919, the same being the 14th judicial day of the Regular July term of said court—Present the Honorable CHARLES E. WOLVERTON, United States District Judge, presiding—the following proceedings were had in said cause, to wit: [246]

In the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon.

No. 8457.

In the Matter of the Application of NEIL GUINEY for a Writ of Habeas Corpus and Ancillary Writ of Certiorari.

Order Denying Application for Bail.

The petitioner in the above-entitled matter having, on the 22d day of July, 1919, by his counsel, George F. Vanderveer, at the time of filing and presenting his petition for appeal and assignments of error, applied for an order retaining custody of the appellant in the court and enlarging him on bond to be fixed by the Court, it is

ORDERED that said application be, and the same hereby is, denied and that application for bail be made to the United States Secretary of Labor; and it is further ordered that all further proceedings under the warrant of deportation made by the Secretary of Labor be staid, pending the determination of the appeal herein.

Done in open court this 22d day of July, 1919.

CHAS. E. WOLVERTON,

Judge.

Filed July 22, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. [247]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on the 23d day of July, 1919, there was duly filed in said court a bond on appeal, in words and figures as follows, to wit: [248]

Portland, Ore., No. 70,674.

J. L. HARTMAN COMPANY, Gen. Agts.

*In the District Court of the United States for the
District of Oregon.*

In the Matter of the Application of NEIL GUINEY
for a Writ of Habeas Corpus and Ancillary
Writ of Certiorari.

Cost Bond.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, that we, Neil Guiney, as principal, and The United States Fidelity and Guaranty Company, a surety corporation organized under the laws of the State of Maryland, are held and firmly bound unto R. P. Bonham, the respondent herein, in the full and just sum of Two Hundred and fifty (\$250.00) Dollars, to be paid to the said R. P. Bonham, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, to which payment, well and truly to be made, we bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, successors and assigns, jointly and severally by these presents.

Sealed with our seals and dated this 23d day of July, in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen.

WHEREAS, lately, on the 21st day of July, 1919, in a suit depending in said Court, wherein the above-named principal was complainant and the said R. P. Bonham was respondent, judgment was rendered against the complainant, discharging a writ of habeas corpus and remanding him to the custody of the respondent; and,

WHEREAS, on the 22d day of July, 1919, said complainant duly appealed from said judgment to the Circuit Court of [249] Appeals of the United States for the 9th Circuit, which appeal was on said date duly allowed by the Honorable Charles E. Wolverton, one of the Judges of the above-entitled court, and on the 23d day of July, 1919, in pursuance thereof, a citation was issued out of said court, directing the respondent, R. P. Bonham, to appear in said United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit on the 20th day of August, 1919, to show cause, if any there be, why said judgment should not be corrected:

NOW, THEREFORE, the condition of the foregoing obligation is such that if the said complainant, appellant, shall prosecute his said appeal to effect and answer all costs that may be awarded against him therein, then this obligation shall be null, void and of no effect, otherwise to be and remain in full force and virtue.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the above-named principal has hereunto set his hand and seal, and

the above-named surety has caused these presents to be executed in its name and under its seal by its duly authorized attorney-in-fact, the day and year first above written.

(Signed) NEIL GUINEY. (Seal)
THE UNITED STATES FIDELITY AND
GUARANTY COMPANY,

By H. WESTENFELDER,
Its Attorney-in-Fact.

Approved this 23d day of July, 1919.

(Signed) CHAS E. WOLVERTON,
District Judge.

Filed Jul. 23, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. [250]

AND AFTERWARDS, to wit, on the 23d day of July, 1919, there was duly filed in said court, a praecipe for transcript, in words and figures as follows, to wit: [251]

In the United States District Court for the District of Oregon.

In the Matter of the Application of NEIL GUINEY for a Writ of Habeas Corpus.

Praecipe for Transcript of Record on Appeal.

To the Clerk of the Above-entitled Court:

You will please prepare and certify as required a transcript of record on appeal embracing the following papers on file therein:

1. Complaint.
2. Order directing issuance of writ.

3. Writ and return.
4. Answer and return to writ.
5. Transcript of record certified by Caminetti and filed with said answer and return.
6. Opinion and decision.
7. Judgment discharging writ.
8. Order denying bail.
9. Petition for appeal.
10. Order allowing appeal.
11. Assignments of error.
12. Citation on appeal.
13. Cost bond on appeal and order approving same.

GEORGE F. VANDERVEER,

Atty. for Complainant, Appellant.

Filed July 23, 1919. G. H. Marsh, Clerk. [252]

**Certificate of Clerk U. S. District Court to Transcript
of Record.**

United States of America,
District of Oregon,—ss.

I, G. H. Marsh, Clerk of the District Court of the United States, for the District of Oregon, do hereby certify that the foregoing pages numbered from 2 to 252, inclusive, constitute the transcript of record on appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, for the Ninth Circuit, from the final order of the District Court of the United States for the District of Oregon, in the matter of the petition of Neil Guiney for a writ of habeas corpus, wherein the said Neil Guiney is appellant and R. P. Bonham is respon-

dent; and that said transcript is a full, true, and complete transcript of the record and proceedings had in said court in said cause as the same appear of record and on file at my office and in my custody.

And I further certify that the cost of the foregoing transcript is \$73.95, and that the same has been paid by the said appellant.

In testimony whereof, I have *hereunto my* hand and caused the seal of said court to be affixed, at Portland, in said district, this 25th day of August, 1919.

[Seal]

G. H. MARSH,
Clerk. [253]

[Endorsed]: No. 3384. United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. Neil Guiney, Appellant, vs. R. P. Bonham, as United States Inspector in Charge of Immigration for the District of Oregon, Appellee. Transcript of Record. Upon Appeal from the United States District Court for the District of Oregon.

Filed August 27, 1919.

F. D. MONCKTON,
Clerk of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals
for the Ninth Circuit.

By Paul P. O'Brien,
Deputy Clerk.

